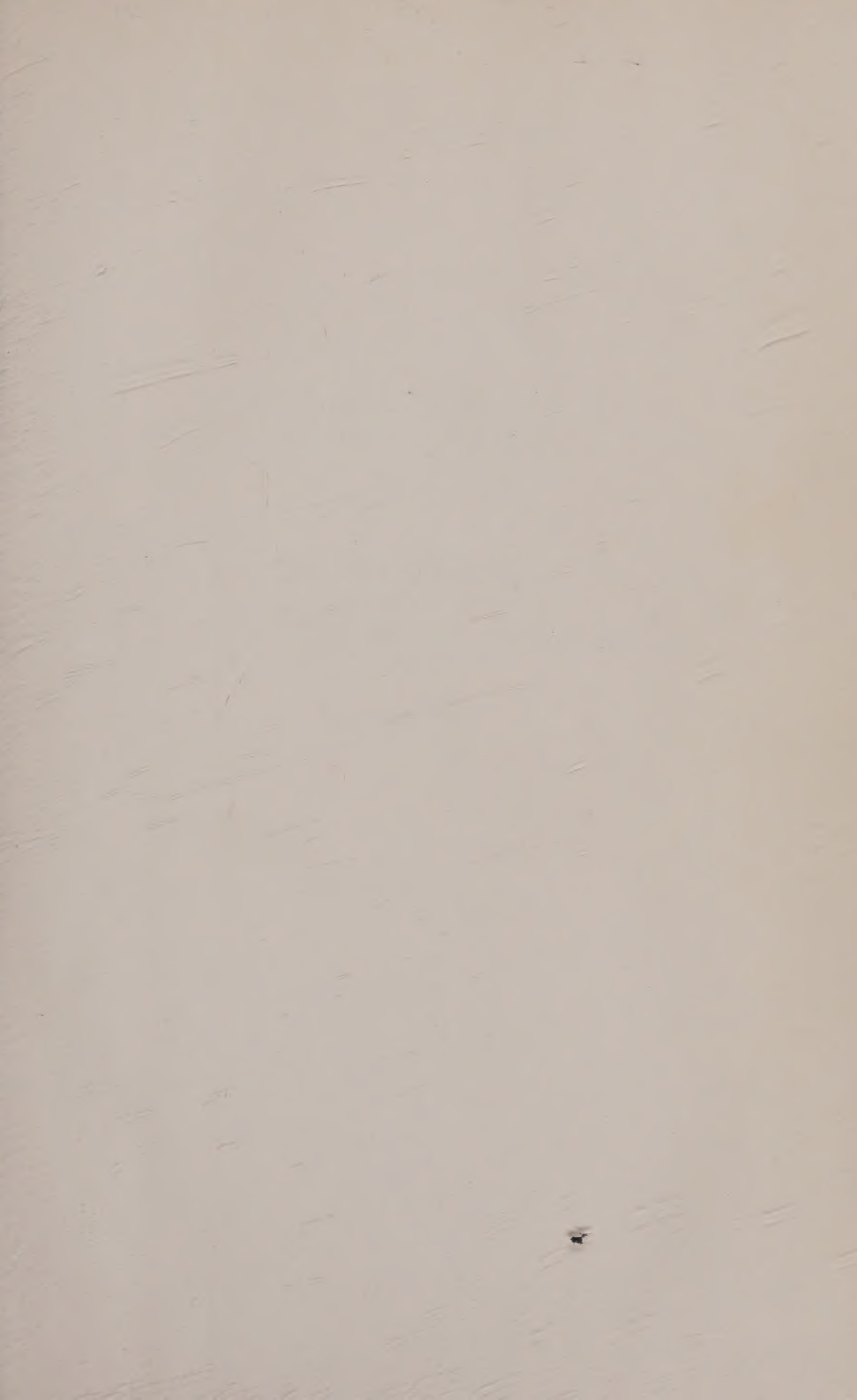




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*DRAMAS AND TRAGEDIES OF
CHIVALRIC FRANCE*

PRIVATE MEMOIRS
OF
A. F. BERTRAND DE MOLEVILLE

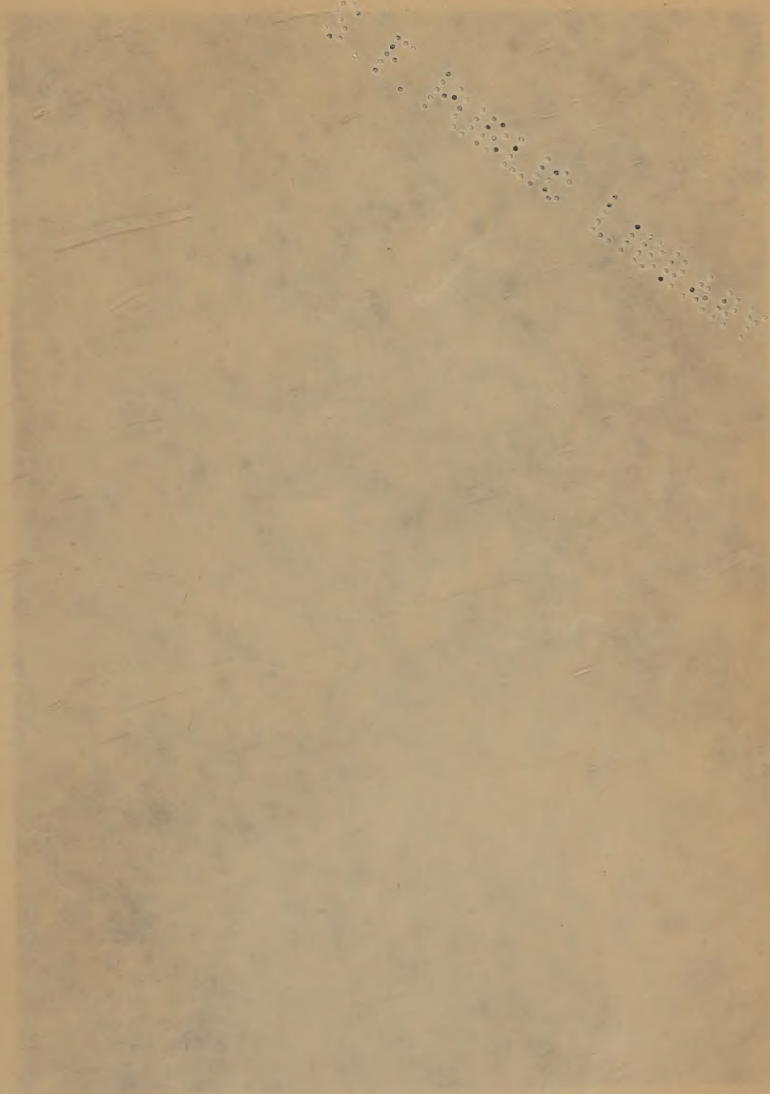
VOLUME TWO

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Mme Vigée Le Brun

*The Dauphin and
Madame Royale*

ROMANCES OF ROYALTY

PRIVATE MEMOIRS

OF

A. F. BERTRAND DE MOLEVILLE

MINISTER OF STATE, 1790-1791

RELATIVE TO

THE LAST YEAR OF THE REIGN OF
LOUIS THE SIXTEENTH

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT OF THE AUTHOR

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY THE EDITOR-IN-CHIEF



EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

G. K. FORTESCUE, LL.D.

Keeper of Printed Books at the British Museum

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. II.

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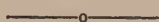
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PRIVATE MEMOIRS

OF

LOUIS THE SIXTEENTH.



CHAPTER I.

The account of my administration given in to the Assembly.—It is printed, and distributed over the Kingdom.—Discontent of the Jacobins.

My first care, on retiring from the Ministry, was to get ready the account of my administration, which the Assembly had a right to exact, and which the Constitution allowed a month to prepare.

I was earnestly solicitous to show, by an authentic act, and in a manner which would no way commit the King, all the errors of the new Constitution, and the evils which arose from them in the Department entrusted to me; therefore, far from taking advantage of the delay which the Constitution granted, I laid my account before the Assembly on the 28th of March, thirteen days after my resignation. I added to this account an extract of the reports on the principal insurrections and mutinies which had taken place in the seaports, and on board the vessels, none of which had been punished. I subjoined copies of the letters which I received from naval officers, containing their motives of resignation. I regarded this supplement as a necessary and proper refutation of the calumnies which were spread against the Navy, accused of aristoc-

racy, and of favouring despotism. I suppressed the signatures, that no individual might be brought into danger. Six thousand copies were immediately printed, and one sent to every member of the Assembly; a certain number to all the different departments, and to the principal municipalities of the Kingdom. The remainder was distributed in Paris.

In this publication, I laid open, without reserve, the fatal consequences of the unrestrained power arrogated by the clubs. The Jacobins were the more violently irritated as I brought such incontestable proofs of every circumstance, that the truth could not be doubted. This publication was not necessary to draw upon me the animadversion of the Jacobins, whose anger I had long incurred; and I should certainly have felt the effects of their rage, if the Committee of the National Assembly on the Navy had been able to discover the least error in my calculations: but luckily they were equally exact with my narrative. I shall here give this memorial, not only as being the most important act of my Ministry, but as it is also the only piece of its kind which has been published.

Statement addressed to the National Assembly by M. de Bertrand de Moleville, late Minister of Marine, on the 27th of March 1792.

“I might limit myself, by presenting to the National Assembly on account of only those particulars which they have the right of exacting from me; but I have resolved to lay before them all the particulars of my conduct, and the motives of my actions, during the whole time that I was entrusted with the Marine Department.

“The expenditure of money, which is generally the principal object of responsibility, was, I must say, during my administration, the circumstance of smallest importance; I shall therefore, in this memorial, give what regards accounts

separately. Those of a Minister of Marine are extremely simple, because he does not direct the expenditure at the ports; he is only responsible for the contracts which he makes personally, or for those which he agrees to. He must likewise account for all expenses which he authorizes to be made, and for the quarterly distribution of the funds. The administrators who reside in the ports, in the fleet, and in the colonies, are responsible that the funds which they are entrusted with shall be exactly distributed. I here lay before you the accounts which I have settled, and those of the contracts which I have concluded. All are conformable to the estimate which was fixed, according to the ordinary and extraordinary valuations of the different articles, and of the funds which were assigned. I have not only never exceeded the estimate, but, on the contrary, have expended less than I was authorized to do, upon all those articles on which a saving could be made. At a time when the disposition of the maritime powers could give us no uneasiness, and when the demands of the War Department were immense, this measure, which was prompted by the purest patriotism, and approved of by the King, produced, during the five months I was in office, an important saving.

“I shall say no more upon a subject which can so easily be verified by an examination of the facts. I come now to the most essential parts of my administration; and this shall form the last answer I shall make to the reproaches which have been thrown out against me; for having now acquired the right to speak the whole truth, I shall conceal nothing.

“From the moment I entered into administration, and during the short time which I continued in it, I have seen the sources of the wealth of the nation drained, our principal colony laid waste, the others in a state of discontent or insurrection, our trade decreasing, our Navy disorganized, our docks,

arsenals, and shipping presenting the frightful appearance of want of discipline, of anarchy, and contempt of the laws.

“The cause of these evils was known to all. Those who ought to obey, had dared to threaten; and those who ought to command, were deprived of all authority, and were loaded with insults with impunity. I say with impunity, because there is no example of any one having been punished on account of the insurrections in the fleet or in the harbours, or for the mutinies excited against the naval officers. This will be proved, to your conviction, by the papers which are annexed to my account; and you will find that the most lawful acts of authority were considered as insults by those who had suddenly passed from a state of necessary subjection to one of entire independence. The clubs, which are corporations, of a kind much more powerful than those which the Constitution abolished, have exercised, in all our harbours, a fatal influence which none of the constituted authorities can resist; for the workmen who receive daily pay, the clerks, the superintendents, and the subordinate officers, instead of being entirely occupied by business, have ceased to obey the Government which employed them, and have become dangerous instruments of sedition. What must be the consequence, when such persons are at once converted into reformers, political orators, and censurers of the administration? What must become of public authority, when each individual exercises it? How are orders to be issued, when the inferiors proscribe, insult, and put to flight their superiors?

“All these facts are of such public notoriety, that I have no fear of being accused of exaggerating them. I shall add to the papers which prove the truth of this memorial, some of lesser note, because it is my duty to conceal nothing.

“It will not be forgotten, that between the two remarkable revolts against the principal officers, between the period at

which M. d'Albert was insulted, and when M. de la Jaille was imprisoned, at the arrival of the *Leopard* at Brest, a navy clerk, who was then procureur of the municipality, pronounced a public discourse, in which he basely calumniated and menaced the whole Navy, which was then entire, none of the officers having at that time abandoned the service. This scandalous speech was denounced in the Constituent Assembly, but the man who pronounced it became afterwards a member of the legislative body; and in the beginning of last December he wrote to the municipality of Brest in these terms, on mentioning me:

“‘We wait for the impostor without fear. You did well to accuse and denounce him. . . . You will soon see how we shall treat him. . . . We despise the Marignys and ‘Bertrands,’ &c. &c.

“This letter was communicated by the municipality of Brest to M. de Marigny, who informed me of it; and I received likewise, at the same time, two copies of it. I have been reproached for not mentioning this: but how is it possible to mistake the motive of my silence? Being completely convinced that the accusations against me were unfounded, I naturally wished that the reporter should be a person whom no one could suspect of being too favourable to me. Such was my wish. Was it not accomplished even beyond my hopes?

“This violent patriot, whose name was Cavelier, came secretly to London in the year 1794, with the design of obtaining money from the English Government, offering to have the port of Brest burnt, or delivered up to the English. I was informed of his arrival and of his intention, and gave immediate notice of it to Mr. Windham, who expressed the same horror which I had felt at this intimation. I assured him of the infamous character of this fellow, upon whom no dependence **could** be put; the consequence of which was, the Cavelier **was** ordered

to quit the Kingdom. It is this man who, after such a letter, has not hesitated to become the reporter of these denunciations, which he himself encouraged and procured.

“In entering into the Ministry, I found the Navy in this wretched condition. The patience of the officers was exhausted, but they continued brave, zealous, and patriotic. What ought I to have done? Was it proper for the King’s Minister to decrease the dissatisfaction by encouraging informations, calumnies, and insurrections? Was it his duty to obey the insurgents in the seaports, or to conform himself to the spirit and letter of the Constitution, and to endeavour to re-establish order and discipline, by putting the laws in execution against all who infringed them? This is what I have done; and those who reproached me with breaking the laws, by granting furloughs, have forgotten that I have justified each by the very words of those laws; and the three which were thought most reprehensible, were found, on examination, to be as conformable to the laws as the rest. In fact, there is no example of a Knight of Malta being refused, in time of peace, leave of absence to execute the service of his order, because the cruising of Maltese vessels in the Mediterranean was found of use to our trade in that sea; and M. de Nieul, inspector of the marines, never having been employed since the year 1789, and it not being possible to employ him till the new organization of the army had taken place, he had no occasion for a written permission to absent himself; for he was in the situation of an unemployed general officer, therefore the leave of absence which I gave him was neither requisite nor written with all the forms, and was only requested by him that I might know where he was, in case of my having occasion to transmit the King’s orders to him.

“I have likewise been reproached for not having in-

formed the Legislative Body of the disordered and abandoned state in which the harbour of Brest was; and with having written to the editor of the *Moniteur*, on the 14th of November, that no naval officer had quitted his post. It was, without doubt, forgotten that my letter was an answer to the editor, who had made a false allegation in his paper. He had stated, in the preceding number, that I had requested to be heard in the Assembly, to mention the new measures which the King had adopted, relative to the desertion of the officers in my Department. I answered, as I ought, that I had not accused the naval officers of any new emigration, because the fact was, that since my being in administration, not one of them had quitted his post. And if the author of the observations addressed to the King, upon my conduct, had taken the trouble to look over the papers which were annexed to the report of the Naval Committee, he would have found, in page 26, an extract of the review of the 1st of October, and in the last page, an extract of that of the 20th of November, in both of which the number of officers absent without leave was stated to be two hundred and seventy-one. He must then have been convinced that I was fully authorized to assert, upon the 14th of November, that since my entrance into administration, no naval officer had quitted his post. He might have remembered, that one of the first acts of my administration was to propose to the King to recall all absent officers, by a letter addressed to the commandants of the seaports, beginning with these words:

“ ‘ I am informed, sir, that the emigrations among the naval officers increase daily.’ ”

“ If he had recollected this letter, of which the National Assembly were informed, and which was printed in the public newspapers, he must, without doubt, have perceived, that the

reproach of having concealed the emigration of the naval officers was too palpably unjust, even to have been pronounced against me by the legislative body.

“These are not the only mistakes which the author of the observations addressed to the King has fallen into. He accuses me of *having granted permission of absence, although my predecessor had positively suspended them on the 15th of August*. But the fact is exactly the reverse; for in one month from the 15th of August, my predecessor granted leave of absence, or a prolongation of absence, to twenty-two officers.

“I flattered myself, that by checking all disturbances, by punishing all disobedience of orders, and by preventing those acts of violence, which made the presence of the naval officers in the seaports dangerous to themselves, and useless for the service, that I should at length enable them to do their duty with the same firmness, with which, for two years, they had endured the reproaches, the suspicions, and threats with which they were loaded. I was thoroughly sensible of the difficulties of such an undertaking, but I was not to be disconcerted by personal abuse or by secret plots. These attacks I considered as honourable proofs of my zeal for the public service: but my courage and my exertions were ineffectual; for I could only act by the power of Government, and according to the law. But Government was no longer respected, and the laws were violated with impunity; it was therefore impossible for me to attack a single abuse, without exciting outcries and accusations which were always strongly supported. The first impression is ever against the accused, especially when he is a Minister; and in these wretched times, no man can be a Minister without being instantly suspected of error, of wilful wrong, and of want of patriotism.

“In vain I invoked the vengeance of the laws against those who attacked and wounded M. de la Jaille. All Brest knew

those who committed this outrage, which was perpetrated at mid-day, in the presence of a thousand witnesses. The proceedings against the criminals commenced, and decrees were passed; but the execution of those decrees was suspended. The villains were protected by powerful demagogues, who terrified and controlled the Ministers.

“I attempted to suppress this insolence, disorder, and want of subordination, which reigned in our arsenals; but every effort was ineffectual; for the factious spirit of party and licentiousness annihilates all authority. All economy and regularity is at an end; and the loss of time, and the waste of materials, may be computed at several millions, from the impossibility of punishing or dismissing those workmen, overseers, subordinate officers, and clerks who were turbulent orators, and who were protected by the clubs.

“In the shipping, the confusion was of a different kind, but equally impossible to be remedied.

“A new form of trial has been established for those who commit offences on board a ship. This form will, perhaps, answer very well in other times, when light is more generally diffused, and when the true principles of a free Constitution are familiarly known by all. But experience has demonstrated, that, where the minds of men are new to liberty, and consequently unable to distinguish it from licentiousness, a maritime jury will not succeed in the manner expected by the Constituent Assembly. The appendix, which is added to this memorial, containing many decisions of juries, will leave no doubt upon this fact.

“We need seek no other cause for the naval officers abandoning the service. Those who have sent in their resignations, and yet remain in France, have alleged no other motives in their letters to me; copies of which I think it my duty to lay before the National Assembly. It appears by the senti-

ments expressed in these letters, that there is not one officer who is not ready to shed the last drop of his blood for his country, if he did not dread the loss of his honour, ever connected with the honour of the French flag.

“The Legislative Body will dissipate this well grounded apprehension, by taking immediate and effectual measures to establish order, discipline, and submission to the laws: this is the only means of saving the French Navy from the destruction with which it is threatened, and of preventing the epoch of its new formation being that of its total dissolution.

“In the merchant service, there will be found all that can be effected by zeal and patriotism; but, unfortunately, it is only by great labour and long experience, that the talents requisite in the different ranks can be acquired. Tourville and Duguaitrouin were not the work of a day; they were formed by dangers and battles.

“But let us suppose, that the merchant service was able to furnish the State with a sufficient number of able officers, without obstructing commerce and endangering the safety of the merchant ships. How are these new officers to be obeyed, if the Assembly does not adopt the necessary means to repress mutiny? How can the commanders, whoever they are, be responsible in this profession, if there is not the most immediate implicit obedience? The slightest hesitation in executing an order, or in obeying a signal, may be sufficient to endanger the safety of the State! It is unnecessary for me to observe, that the first measure to be taken is, to suppress, in all the seaport towns, those deliberating corporations, which were proscribed by the Constituent Assembly, which have had the power of annihilating all that confidence, respect, and submission, which are due from the inferior towards the superior officers.

“I shall not enlarge upon the share I have had in the

Government of the Colonies. The Assembly already know the disasters which have taken place there, and the melancholy consequences which have followed. Both at St. Domingo, and at Martinique, as in France, all the evils have arisen from the disorganization of the Government, from the audacity of factious men, and from insurrections being unpunished. I have exerted myself, by making repeated demands and complaints to this Assembly, even to importunity, to have the misfortunes of the Colonies remedied; and I have at least the consolation of knowing, that they were not owing to me.

“Lastly, there is another truth, which is important, though little known, that I ought to attest and publish. During the five months and a half in which I have been in the Ministry, I have never seen the King vary one moment from his fidelity to the principles of the Constitution. I shall mention, in support of this assertion, a fact which recently occurred, and which made so great an impression upon my colleagues, that they cannot have forgotten it.

“Towards the end of last month, a very delicate and important affair was brought before the Council. There were two ways of acting; the one would occasion a very considerable increase of the power of the Crown, without exciting any discontent, because it was agreeable to the general wish. The other was the way more exactly conformable to the letter and spirit of the Constitution. The King, without waiting for the advice of his Ministers, did not hesitate a moment in deciding for the latter; and he signified his opinion in these remarkable words: *The Constitution is to be faithfully executed, and we are never to attempt to increase the powers of the Crown.* What an example to the constituted authorities! And how much is it to be wished for the good of the public, that all of them should confine their powers as scrupulously within the bounds that are prescribed!



"I submit these reflections to the wisdom of the National Assembly. They are suggested to me by the purest love of my country. May my successor, happier than me, see true patriotism triumph over the passions and false opinions which I had to combat!

"(Signed) DE BERTRAND."

This declaration, which was printed and directed to each member of the Assembly, contains the most positive contradiction of all the accusations thrown out against me in the memorial addressed to the King. It was industriously spread through the whole Kingdom as a challenge to any of my enemies to answer it: but as no one attempted its refutation, the absurd calumny of my having favoured the emigration of the naval officers, by paying them their appointments at Coblenz, and by granting to many the liberty of absenting themselves, was forgotten for a time.

The Jacobins, however, still honoured me by their animadversions. My name was never pronounced in the club without being accompanied with the epithets of infamous or villainous. The sole crime which they accused me of was being a member of the chimerical Austrian Committee; and to make the existence of this Committee credited, factious men published daily pretended discoveries of treasonable designs and imaginary plots, in order to enrage and mislead the people.

It was not till the September following that the infamous Hébert, in the account which he published of the massacres of the prisoners at Orleans and Versailles, renewed the charges against me which had been begun by Cavelier, Rouhier, &c.; and he had the effrontery to support them by a public confession, which he asserted I made at the moment of my death; for I was included by him among the victims of this horrid massacre; and the relation of my punishment, accompanied

with my last will, was not the least interesting part of his Journal.

It will appear in the course of these Memoirs, that there was a strong reason for this falsehood. An old French navy officer, who was cashiered by a court-martial, declared unworthy and incapable of serving the King, and condemned to be imprisoned for twenty years, has just published a work, the object of which is, without doubt, to prove that he is worthy and capable of serving the republic, not only in the rank of *contre-amiral*, which he now holds, but in that of admiral in chief, of which he appears to be ambitious. This work is entitled *Precis des Evénemens de la Guerre Maritime, des Causes de la Destruction de la Marine Française, et des Moyens de la retablir*. The author's name is Y. J. Kerguélen.¹ This Admiral, worthy by his impostures, of being the echo, and even the continuator of the journalist Hébert, repeats from the relation of the massacres of Versailles, that "I facilitated the emigration of the general officers, and the other naval officers; and that I had presented a barren list of a corps, the individuals of which were at Coblentz, though

¹ Admiral Yves Joseph Kerguélen's name is best known as the discoverer of Kerguélen's Land in the Antarctic Ocean, in 1772. Kerguélen himself was not able to land on this island, but one of his officers, named Saint Allouan, surveyed a portion of the coast.

In December 1776, Captain Cook explored the island and named it after Kerguélen. "I should," he wrote, "with great propriety call it the Island of Desolation, but that I would not rob Monsieur de Kerguélen of the honour of its bearing his name." Meanwhile in 1773 Kerguélen conducted a second expedition to the Antarctic, which ended in disputes and quarrels between himself and his officers.

The imprisonment to which Bertrand alludes occurred after the voyage. Kerguélen was charged with neglect and abandonment of a portion of his crew, and after a trial by court-martial was sentenced to be cashiered and imprisoned for life, but after a few months he was liberated and restored to his rank. He died at sea in March 1797.

they were paid as if at Toulon, Brest, Rochefort, or Paris." He adds, that "being the slave of a corrupt court, I was only fitted to promote its criminal views, in resisting the progress of the Revolution, and in restraining the courageous efforts of the friends of liberty." Finally, he imputes to me, "the rapid rise of Admiral Truguet,² an inexperienced youth, who was suddenly promoted to the rank of Vice Admiral."

If I chose to make use of some notes which I had occasion to peruse, respecting Y. J. Kerguélin, amidst those which were kept in my office, concerning naval officers, who had been likewise cashiered, though for smaller offences, I could easily show that it is prudent to distrust his assertions, even when official. I should only have to quote the report which he made of his first expedition to Terra Australis, of which he gave a most seducing description, although he never saw the country, except through a spy-glass. Every thing which he narrated, relative to the rich culture of the lands, the industry, intelligence, and mild manners of the inhabitants, is flatly contradicted by M. de Rosily the elder, who commanded the armed cutter with twenty men, which was sent

² If Admiral Laurent Jean François Truguet's early promotion was due to Bertrand de Moleville's patronage, the latter conferred no small benefit on France.

Truguet was one of the bravest and most competent officers of the French Navy of the Republic, Consulate and Empire.

His democratic and republican principles brought him, when a member of the Council of State, into frequent collision with the First Consul, who notwithstanding recognized his worth and gave him several high commands. On one occasion, at least, he gave Napoleon advice which it would have been well for him to follow. When sending him the votes of the Fleet under his command on the Consulate for Life, Truguet wrote: "In forwarding to you the votes in favour of your Life-Tenure, permit me to add my own personal opinion, which is to advise you to keep the title of First Consul, a title to which you have given a fame vastly superior to that of either King or Emperor."

After the Restoration Truguet was created a Peer by Louis XVIII. He died at the age of 87, in December 1839.

there, and who asserts, that he had discovered, on this dry rocky country, no marks of cultivation, and no inhabitants; and there were only found some sea-birds, which were so tame, that they allowed themselves to be taken in the hand, and the marks of one quadruped of the smallest species. This description, which is precisely conformable to that of Captain Cook, will determine in what manner the reports and assertions of Y. J. Kerguelin are to be explained by those who wish to arrive at the truth. Thus, when he asserts, that "as the slave of a corrupt Court, I was only fitted to promote its criminal views," that means, that at the time when I entered into administration, there was no Court; and that the most virtuous and best-intentioned King was, in his own palace, as is known to all Europe, the only slave. When he advances, that "the emigrated officers were paid at Toulon, Brest," &c. &c. we must conclude that none were paid. Indeed it was impossible that any could be paid, without sending a certificate of their residence to the paymaster, who was personally responsible, and who never could receive any orders upon this subject from the Minister. When he reproaches me, "with having presented a barren list of naval officers, and of having promoted Truguet prematurely to the rank of *contre-amiral*," those assertions mean, that the list published during my administration had been drawn up and ordered by my predecessor, and that Truguet was not named to the rank of Vice Admiral till some months after my retreat. Finally, when he accuses me "of having destroyed the Navy," it is then clear that I had no share in it; and that it ought to be imputed to the causes which I have explained in my statement, and to the negligence of the Naval Committee, in not framing such decrees as were necessary for re-establishing order and discipline in this department. This was affirmed by the Minister himself, in his report upon the state of France, pro-

nounced before the Assembly July 10, 1792, that is to say, four months after my retreat. The Minister of Justice, speaking in the name of all his colleagues, announced, "that every thing was unsettled in the naval department, when M. La Coste entered into it; and that things were still in the same state, because, in spite of the efforts of the Minister and of his predecessors, to obtain from the Assembly supplementary laws, to regulate the organization of this Department, none had yet been decreed."

After having demonstrated, that in believing Admiral Kerguelin, you are farther from the truth than in believing the very reverse of what he affirms, I cannot help congratulating myself upon his having abused my administration. With regard to his merit and military talents, although, before the sentence of the court-martial, which declared him unworthy and incapable of serving, he was considered by his commanders and his equals as an unskilful officer, and ignorant in his profession, yet his promotion to the rank of Vice Admiral makes it impossible to doubt his having become suddenly as able as he thinks himself.

LOUIS THE SIXTEENTH.

CHAPTER II.

M. de Fleurieu named tutor to the Dauphin, but not invested in the office.—After my resignation, the King desires me to keep up a correspondence by letters with him.—The object of this.—His Majesty consigns to me the direction of certain affairs, which had been formerly under the superintendence of M. de Lessart.—Spies employed by the Tribunal of Police.—Arrangement made with one of the principal members of the Tribunal.—Measures equally expensive and useless.—Danton paid by the Court.—The new Ministers oblige the King to declare War, much against his inclination.

THE appointment of the King's household was a measure which could be delayed without any inconveniency: but it was not so with regard to the appointment of a Tutor to the Dauphin, or, to speak in the constitutional style, the Prince Royal. The first, or Constituent Assembly, had showed an inclination to arrogate this power to themselves, or to render it null in the hands of the King, by transmitting a list made up by them, out of which he was to choose one for that office: but the numerous and absurd list which they formed appeared so ridiculous in the eyes of the public, that they thought it best to adjourn the exercise of this pretended right; from which period, to that of their dissolution, the multiplicity and importance of the affairs brought before them, had prevented the Assembly from renewing their pretensions on this head. But as they never had formally abandoned them, it was highly probable that the second Assembly might have made this claim, if the King, by deferring the appointment of a Tutor to the Prince Royal beyond the period fixed, had

given reason to suspect that he harboured doubts of his own right.

A few days before my resignation, therefore, I gave it to the King as my opinion, that he ought to name the Tutor without farther delay. His Majesty felt the force of this; but still he was embarrassed how to act.

"Who can I choose?" said he. "Do you know any person, proper for the situation, whom the Jacobins would not detest? And I would rather that my son remained without a Tutor, than expose the worthy man, whom I should appoint, to the insults of the people, and perhaps to assassination. On the other hand," continued he, "I am sensible, that if I do not appoint a Tutor myself, the Jacobins may probably propose Condorcet, the Abbé Sieyes, or some other such unprincipled person. Have you any one in view?"

"No, Sire," answered I; "I thought that you had already considered the matter, and that your choice was fixed. I ought, however, to inform your Majesty, that at the time the Ministers were occupied in forming your household establishment, M. de Fleurieu appeared to them the most eligible person, as he was favourably looked upon by the Jacobins, upon account of the moderation of his conduct to the clerk Bonjour."

"M. de Fleurieu, I think, would suit us," said the King. "He is very well informed, and he is a man of probity, on whom I could rely. There is nothing against him but his timidity and excessive gentleness. But is it certain that he would accept of the situation?"

"I do not imagine," replied I, "that the Ministers informed themselves of that: but if you desire it, I will see M. de Fleurieu, and find out his own inclinations, without letting him know that I am commissioned by your Majesty."

"Do so," said the King; "and do not delay to inform me."

I went directly from the palace to M. de Fleurieu. I gave, as a pretext for my visit, the desire I had to talk to him concerning his pension, which I told him I hoped to have fixed before I quitted administration. I then insensibly led the conversation to the subject of the Prince Royal's Tutor. I said that he ought to have a view to that situation, for which he was very well qualified. He answered, with modesty, that it was the place in the Kingdom which would most flatter his ambition; but that he was so far from thinking himself qualified, that he would not presume to place himself in the list of candidates. By all he said, it was easy to perceive that he would accept of the offer with great pleasure; and I returned immediately to the King, who was very well pleased with this intelligence.

The nomination of M. de Fleurieu to the place of Tutor to the Prince Royal was deferred till the end of March; and the King informed the Assembly of it by a letter, which they immediately referred to a committee. The opinion which I transmitted to his Majesty was, that without waiting for the report of the committee, M. de Fleurieu should be installed in his new situation, and begin to discharge the duties belonging to it, that the Assembly might not imagine its right in this nomination was different from what the Constitution allotted them, respecting the King's nomination of Ministers, in which they had no negative. I represented also to M. de Fleurieu, that if he did not take possession immediately, the King's prerogative would be attacked; for any hesitation on such a point would encourage the pretensions of the Assembly. My advice, however, was not followed.

M. de Fleurieu had no uneasiness on this subject. He had caused some of the members of the Committee to be spoken to, who, as he heard, were favourably disposed to him; he was convinced, on the whole, that the report would be made

in the course of the week, and that he had no obstacles to apprehend. However, the report as I had foreseen, was put off from week to week, upon various pretences, and was never made; so that no other advantage was derived from that nomination of M. de Fleurieu but that of preventing the Assembly from appointing a Tutor to the Prince Royal. It is fortunate that M. de Fleurieu was not invested in that office before the 10th of August, as in that case he would probably have augmented the number of illustrious victims sacrificed on that fatal day; and France would have lost in him a man, estimable for his learning and talents, and for the purity of his principles.

On quitting the Ministry, I expressed my regret that I could not pay my duty to his Majesty with the same assiduity I wished, without creating suspicions that might be dangerous to him; I therefore proposed only to attend his levee every Sunday; and this I thought would be expedient, because, if I never appeared there at all, it would be immediately believed that he saw me in secret.

The King approved of this, and at the same time gave me the superintendence of an operation which was first contrived and set a-going by Alexander Lameth, afterwards directed by M. de Lessart, and in the present circumstances seemed more necessary than ever. The object of this was to obtain a minute knowledge of the public disposition, by the means of certain persons called observers, who were chosen and employed for that purpose.

At this time they were in number thirty-five. Some attended the galleries of the Assembly, others the Jacobin Club and that of the Cordeliers, whilst others were ordered to mix in the various groups who attended in the Palais Royal, the Tuileries, the principal coffee-houses, and taverns. Their business was to support, by their applause, all constitutional

and royalist motions, and to hiss, and even insult, whoever proposed a measure contrary to the interest of the King and the Constitution. Their custom was, to give in a daily report of whatever they saw or heard. It was the province of the most intelligent, who were highest paid, to combat every seditious motion in the various societies. Giles, a subaltern officer in the National Guard, entirely devoted to the King, took in the above reports, and delivered them to M. de Lessart, from whom he received directions respecting the operations of the following day. These men were also employed to stick up, during the night placards of a constitutional or royalist nature, according to the circumstances.

The King, by this means, knew all that passed in Paris, and might have derived advantages from it at least equal to the expense of the whole operation, which amounted to 8000 livres a month, had it not been for his aversion to those vigorous measures which the present emergence required: but that aversion was so great, that the information he received only served to alarm and torment him.

At the time, however, that the King made this proposal to me, I was so fully convinced that his having timely notice of the dangers which threatened him might save the royal family, that I accepted it without hesitation, although I could not but be sensible of the perilous nature of such an employment; for had it been discovered, or even surmised, I should not merely have run the risk of being sent a prisoner to Orleans, like M. de Lessart, but of being torn in pieces by the populace.

But that the danger I was willing to incur might prove as useful as possible, I proposed to the King that the observers above mentioned should be commissioned to investigate and point out to the tribunals of police the names and abodes of the most seditious and dangerous vagabonds, from all countries, who at that time infested the capital. His Majesty having

approved of this I immediately made it my business to search for a sensible and well-intentioned justice of peace of the police department, and I found one of this description in M. Buob, an Alsatian by birth, who, before the Revolution, had been in partnership with Duvernois the banker, and had since been appointed justice of peace and one of the six who composed the Police Court of the Municipality of Paris, in which his indefatigable activity gave him great influence. I commissioned a person, in whom I could confide, to endeavour to find out how Buob stood inclined. He was found to be as favourably disposed as we could wish, and he came to me next night about nine o'clock. I told him that the King, being informed of the zeal and activity with which he attended to the police of Paris, had desired me to express his approbation to him. This greatly flattered him. He boasted much of the services which had been rendered by the Tribunal of Police, and likewise assured me that it was in his power to render much greater, provided he was assisted.

"But unluckily," said he, "we have no other fund from which we can pay our agents, except the produce of the confiscations and fines."

Unwilling to let him suspect that the King had any knowledge of the plan respecting the observers,

"You shall not want money," said I, "if I succeed in gaining you the confidence of a society of rich citizens, who, for their personal security, have raised a pretty considerable fund, for the purpose of keeping in pay a certain number of persons, who inform them of all that passes in the capital; and I have no doubt of their agreeing, at my request, to put those persons under your command."

"Oh!" said he; "but these people cannot be depended upon so much as those which the police have already engaged, but whom we have no sufficient fund to pay them from."

"Well," answered I, "I shall propose to the society to grant a reward of one hundred livres for the discovery of each seditious person; which money shall be immediately paid, on the legal conviction of the criminal."

"Cannot the King," said he, "throw that expense upon the civil list?"

"I certainly shall not propose such a thing to him," answered I. "M. de La Porte, who is scrupulously exact, would not fail to insert the article in his register, and the consequence might prove as disagreeable to you as prejudicial to the King."

This answer seemed to satisfy Buob, whom I did not think proper fully to trust until I knew more about him.

The denunciations began the following week; and betwixt that period, to the end of July, fifty-eight of the most seditious were taken up and tried. Part of them were condemned to three years' imprisonment, and others to two years, in the castle of Bicêtre, where they remained in confinement till after the 10th of August, when the mob forced the doors of that prison and either set them at liberty or murdered them.

One of these rascals, named Fournier, afterwards commanded the detachment which was sent from Paris, forced the prison at Orleans, and conducted the prisoners from thence to Versailles, and there gave them up to the assassins who waited for them.

His Majesty likewise entrusted me with the direction of another establishment of the same kind, much more expensive, at the head of which was a man of an intriguing spirit, whom particular reasons prevent me from naming¹ (Durand, a member of the Municipality of Paris.) M. de Montmorin had begun to employ him, during the first Assembly, as a secret

¹ The person referred to here is given in the edition of 1816, as the "Sieur Durand," but beyond the fact that he was a member of the General Council of the Municipality of Paris, I can discover nothing about him.

agent of all the private negotiations of the Ministry, in order to make particular motions be supported or rejected in the Assembly or in the Jacobin Club. He had pretty well fulfilled this employment, and his services had not passed unrewarded; for besides the avowed recompense he received from the Minister, he probably retained a small gratification out of the money which he was commissioned to distribute. This subtle man, dextrous and insinuating, always of the opinion of the person he conversed with, was, in reality, attached to no party. He persuaded M. de Montmorin, that from his intimacy with the popular characters of the Revolution, it was in his power to be of essential service to the King, especially by inspiring and keeping up a spirit of loyalty in the National Guard of Paris, by associating himself with the officers and soldiers who had the greatest influence in their particular battalions; but he observed, that for this purpose he must have it in his power to invite about twenty of them every day to dinner, and also to distribute little presents, from time to time, amongst them, according as circumstances seemed to require; that upon an exact calculation he found that 34,000 livres a month would be sufficient for these purposes; and by this means he hoped in a short time to secure a majority in all the sections.

The Ministers, so far from hesitating to grant him the sum he demanded, were convinced that they had made a most advantageous bargain; and, in order to remove the suspicion which his expensive manner of living might give rise to, M. de Lessart, then Minister of the home department, at the desire of M. de Montmorin, named him to a place of 10,000 livres a year, which, together with his own personal property, might be supposed to enable him to support the expense which his plan required him to keep up. On due investigation, I found that no advantage had resulted from this measure,

either by conciliating the national guards or the sections, who continued as ill disposed as ever. And besides, as the expense, which amounted to 400,000 livres a year, could now only be defrayed from the funds of the civil list, I persuaded the King to reserve this sum for a more useful purpose; and it may occasion surprise to many, when they are informed, that it was through the means of this very agent, that the noisy patriot Danton received more than a hundred thousand crowns under the ministry of M. de Montmorin, for proposing or supporting the various motions in the Jacobin Club. He faithfully fulfilled his engagement, always reserving to himself the liberty of employing the means he thought would best succeed in making his motions pass. His usual method was to season them with violent declamations against the Court and Ministers, that he might not be suspected of being sold to them.

After the retreat of M. de Montmorin, M. de Lessart, who continued to employ the same agent, being in a Committee at the house of the *Garde des Sceaux*, suddenly broke it up, saying he had appointed a person to meet him upon an affair of consequence. I myself set him down at his own house; and, on our way, he told me, that the business for which he had been called out was to advance twenty-four thousand livres to a person who was to remit this sum to Danton,² in order to

² The history of Danton is so well known that I do not propose to give here even an outline sketch of his career. Danton's venality was asserted by many of his contemporaries, among them by Mirabeau, La Fayette, Madame Roland and Brissot, and lastly by Bertrand de Moleville in the present passage.

The charge has been denied by several writers of the present day, but, as it seems to me with an unnecessary amount of special pleading, and an overstrained abuse of the plaintiff's Attorney. It requires no small amount of courage to assert that the whole of Bertrand's narrative, as given in these pages, is a prolonged falsehood. On one point, however, Bertrand is certainly mistaken. On page 279, Vol. II., he asserts that Danton, while he voted for

engage him to carry a particular motion in the Jacobin Club. The sum appeared to me exorbitant; and, as I had a person of confidence in the Jacobin Club, I told M. de Lessart, that unless it was a matter of great importance, and of a very delicate nature, I probably could get it brought on and passed, without costing him a farthing. Upon his telling me the object of the motion, I thought it might be of some utility; and, by having it presented in the popular style of the times, might very probably be carried. Accordingly, by the address of the person I usually employed in the club, the motion was next day made by Dubois de Crancé, and passed without opposition. The agent, whom I have avoided to name (Durand), when he understood from M. de La Porte, that the King had entrusted me with the superintendency of the secret business in which he was employed, called on me about this time; and, vaunting his own services, he assured me, that he had been commissioned by M. de Lessart, towards the end of December 1791, to make proposals to the deputies Brissot, Vergniaud, Guadet, the Abbé Fauchet, and another still alive, and at present in the Assembly, whose name I suppress on that account: in consequence of which, these deputies had agreed to give their voices and influence in the Assembly, to the Minister,

the King's death, abstained from "supporting" his opinion by reasoning or any discourse. But in point of fact Danton gave no silent vote. In speaking against a proposition that the King's condemnation should not be valid unless voted by a two-thirds majority of the Convention, Danton made a speech in the course of which he said, "You have been sent here to try the Tyrant not so much in the capacity of judges as of Representatives." Again in voting for Louis' death without delay or appeal to the Nation he said,— "I am not one of that flock of so-called Statesmen who seem not to be aware that we cannot join in a conspiracy with tyrants; who do not understand that a tyrant can be dealt with only by taking his head; who cannot comprehend that we have nothing to rely upon but our own arms to defend ourselves against the other despots of Europe. I vote for the death of the tyrant."

for the sum of six thousand livres a month, to be paid to each; adding, that M. de Lessart thought they required too high a price; and, as they would not abate the least in their demand, the negotiation ended, and only produced the effect of irritating these five deputies against the Minister.

If it should be thought surprising that these deputies should entrust a man of this kind with a secret of such importance, all that I can say from my own certain knowledge is, that the deputies in question showed the greatest rancour against the Minister; but, with regard to the other fact, I have only the man's authority.

At this time, M. Servan³ having been appointed minister at

³ Joseph Servan de Gerbey, a military officer, served for some years as Deputy Governor of the pages of Louis XVI. On the 8th May 1792, he received the rank of "Maréchal de Camp" and on the next day was appointed Minister of War in the short-lived Girondist Ministry. In accordance with his colleagues, he began by proposing to establish under the ramparts of Paris a camp of twenty thousand Federal Volunteers, to be selected from all parts of France by the Jacobin Clubs and other Revolutionary Societies. These Volunteers were nominally supposed to protect the Assembly and the Capital in case of invasion; in reality they were designed to overawe the Constitutionals and if necessary to extinguish the Monarchs. The story of this proposal, of the quarrel which arose between Dumouriez and Servan, of the King's refusal to sanction the plan, and of the dismissal of Servan, Roland and Clavière, 12th June 1792, are told in Vol. II., chapter VI. of these Memoirs.

Immediately after the 10th August Servan was reinstated as Minister of War, but the incessant attacks made upon him by Dumouriez forced him to retire 3rd October 1792. One of his last acts as Minister is curiously characteristic of the period. It was to send an order to all the generals of the Republic to substitute the "Marseillaise" for the "Te Deum" when celebrating a victory. On his retirement from the Ministry he was appointed with the rank of Lieutenant General to command the Army of the Eastern Pyrenees. Here he gained some successes over the Spaniards, but on the 4th July 1793, he was deprived of his command, sent back to Paris and incarcerated in the Abbaye, charged with complicity with the Girondists.

In his case, as in so many others, one can only suppose that he

war (9 March 1792) instead of M. de Grave, the whole cabinet was composed of Jacobins, who, being supported by the Left of the Assembly, loudly called for a Declaration of War against the Emperor and the King of Prussia. The King was persuaded, that their chief motive was, that they might have more plausible pretexts of accusing him of having a secret intelligence with the Courts of Vienna and Berlin; he therefore deferred the final determination of the Council as long as possible, and only consented to propose the Declaration of War to the Assembly, after each of the Ministers had separately given him his opinion and motives in writing signed by them.

The Assembly received this message with transport, and decreed with acclamations the Declaration of War. The enemies of the King and Queen were much less occupied in putting France in a situation to sustain it, than in endeavouring to take advantage of the critical situation in which this new order of things placed their Majesties. The scrupulous exactness with which the King, faithful to his oath, adhered to the Constitution, had hitherto disconcerted the projects of the Jacobins, and discredited the assertions they continually repeated, of the King's dislike to the Constitution, and of his seeking to overset it. This vague accusation being given up, as having ceased to make any impression, the Jacobins now substituted in its stead, the accusation of betraying the nation; and his Majesty was attacked for purposely neglecting, as was boldly asserted, to give necessary orders to the Ministers for repairing the frontier towns, providing them in warlike stores,

was overlooked by the Revolutionary Tribunal, or that his case was postponed in order that he might be included in some special "batch of victims." In either case, he survived the Terror, and was released on the 24th January 1795, and restored to his rank. Napoleon employed him to command several successive divisions in the interior of France (he was probably considered too old for foreign service) and bestowed upon him the Legion of Honour.

He died in Paris, aged 67, on the 20th May 1808.

and completing the regiments; they also accused him of keeping up a secret correspondence with the Emperor, and indicating to him those parts of the frontiers where he would meet with the least resistance, and even sending him money to defray the expense of his operations; and some of the populace declared to the Municipality of Paris, that they had seen whole waggon-loads of gold on their way to Vienna. In short, the coffee-houses, public walks, and clubs resounded with plots and conspiracies of the pretended Austrian Committee.

These accusations, however absurd, became dangerous, because the King would not condescend to refute them. The avidity and credulity with which the vulgar are wont to receive reports of treasons, plots, and conspiracies, dispensed the journalists and club orators from the necessity of supporting them with the slightest proof.

CHAPTER III

The critical situation in which the King was.—Imposture of an Austrian committee renewed.—Carra denounces M. de Montmorin and me in the Jacobin club as members of that pretended committee.—We give in a complaint against him, and against several Journalists.—Proposal sent to me by the Jacobins.—Imprudence of the Judge Larivière.—Decree of accusation against him.—Brissot and Gensonné undertake to prove the truth of the Austrian Committee.

THE King had never before been placed in so dangerous a situation: his Council was entirely composed of Jacobin Ministers; and, the consequence of this measure, which he had been made to think would render him popular, was to render every act of popularity fruitless for himself, while the whole merit devolved upon the Ministers. For they were at pains to impress on the public, that every popular measure proceeded from them; and that those acts of government which, though absolutely necessary, were displeasing to the multitude, proceeded from the King. So that this unfortunate Prince, destitute of all support, of every resource, had nothing to oppose to the ferocity of his enemies, their plots and their calumnies, but the mildness of his character, and his inexhaustible patience; unfortunately, the King's enemies were too well acquainted with his being possessed of those qualities, which are always hurtful to a tottering throne, and often weaken the foundation of the best established.

The ridiculous story of the Austrian Committee was again revived, and most successfully employed in irritating the people against the Court. The most subtle and criminal

methods were made use of in order to convince the public of the existence of this Committee.

One Sieur Richer de Sérisy¹ went to the house of Regnault St. Jean d'Angely,¹ and invited him, in the name of the Princess de Lamballe, to a Committee which was to be held at her house on Friday evening at six o'clock; and told him, that he would find there, amongst others, Messrs. de Montmorin, Bertrand, and Malouet.² Regnault fell into the snare.

¹ Richer de Sérisy was a journalist at this period chiefly engaged in distributing the calumnies relating to the Austrian Committee. He was also closely allied with Danton and Camille Desmoulins, and was arrested after their fall as their fellow conspirator. He had the good fortune not to be brought forward for trial, and was released after the 10th Thermidor.

He then rearranged his political opinions and edited a journal entitled "L'Accusateur Public," which was of strongly anti-revolutionary tendencies. After the Insurrection of the 13th Vendémiaire (October 1795) he was tried but acquitted. He was less fortunate after the 18th Fructidor (September 1797), when he was one of the journalists condemned to transportation to Cayenne.

He contrived to escape at the last moment and made his way to Spain, from which country he was expelled on the representations of the French Government.

He then came to England, where he died in the year 1803.

Michel Louis Regnault de Saint Jean d'Angéles had been a member of the Constituent Assembly. He was at present engaged in writing on Andre Chenieris' "Journal de Paris" and "L'Ami des Patriotes," a journal subventioned from the Civil List. He subsequently became Secretary of State to Napoleon, and one of his most trusted Ministers.

² Pierre Victor Malouet, whose name has already been referred to in the Introduction to these Memoirs, was one of the ablest and bravest defenders of the Constitutional Monarchy in the Constituent Assembly. Immediately after the 10th August, Malouet, who had remained in France in the hope of being of service to the King, and was consequently one of the imaginary "Austrian Committee" of Brissot and his colleagues, escaped to England. In December 1792, he wrote from London to the President of the Convention, asking for a free-conduct, which would enable him to return to Paris and to act as one of the King's Advocates at his approaching trial.

In reply the Convention immediately placed him on the list of

All his doubts respecting the Austrian Committee vanished; and he was endowed with vanity sufficient to think it the most natural thing on earth that he should be summoned to a society where subjects of the highest importance were discussed, and in which wisdom was so requisite; he enjoyed the importance he derived from an invitation from the Princess, who, he supposed, acted in consequence of orders from the King and Queen. He could not help being a little surprised, however, how their Majesties had divined that he was so much better a royalist than he had hitherto appeared, or indeed than he had till now conceived himself to be. Full of these ideas, he waited upon M. Malouet, with whom he had never been in any habits of intimacy, although they had been both members of the first Assembly. M. Malouet was rather surprised at his visit; but still more so, on his expressing great satisfaction at the frequent opportunities he should now have of meeting with him.

“Where are we to meet so often?” said M. Malouet.

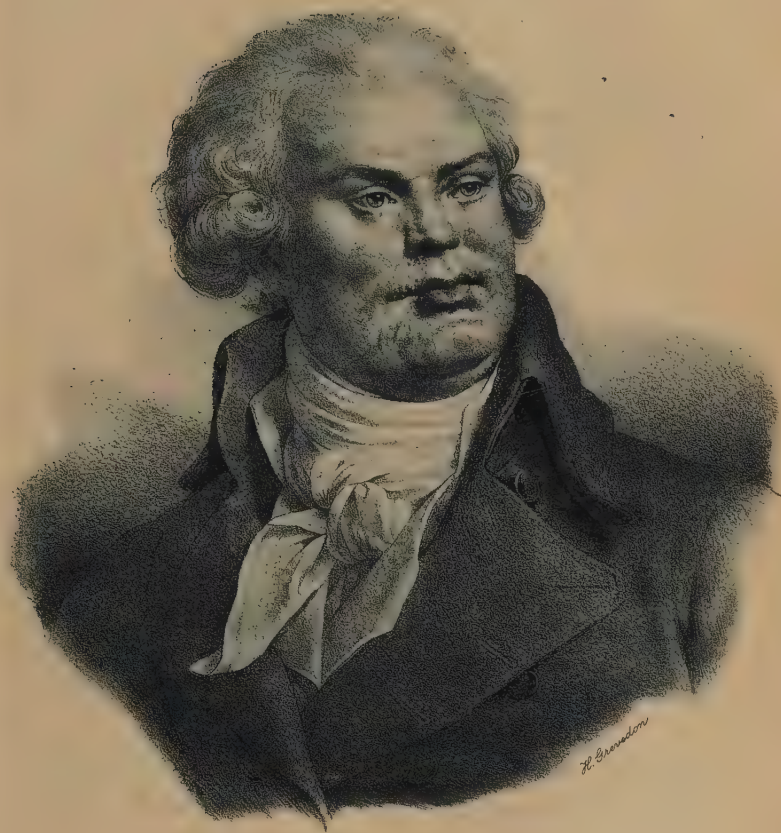
“In the committee at Madame de Lamballe’s,” answered Regnault.

“Upon my honour, sir, I don’t know what you are speaking of,” said M. Malouet; “I am not acquainted with Madame de Lamballe, neither am I of any Committee.”

“I do not mean a public Committee,” replied Regnault, “but the secret one which is held at the Princess de Lamballe’s, who has done me the honour to send Richer de Sérisy

Génigres, which implied his death without trial if he placed his foot on French soil.

During the Consulate he returned to France and served under Napoleon for several years as Commissioner of Marine at Antwerp. In 1810 he was created a Count and Councillor of State, but two years later was accused of being a royalist and exiled to Lorraine. In 1814 Louis XVIII. appointed him Minister of Marine. He died a few months afterwards, in September 1814, aged 74.



Danton

to invite me to attend on Friday evening; and I was informed by him, that I should meet you and Messieurs Montmorin and Bertrand. So you need not keep any longer upon the reserve."

"I can only repeat, sir," said M. Malouet, "that I am entirely ignorant of what you mean: I never set my foot within the Princess de Lamballe's door; I hardly know her by sight, and I am not of any Committee, public or secret."

"What then am I to think," said Regnault, astonished, "at the message I received by Richer de Sérisy?"

"I suspect," replied M. Malouet, "that it is either done by way of a joke, or that it is a snare laid for you; therefore, I advise you to be upon your guard."

Upon this they separated. M. Malouet came directly to my house, and gave me an account of what had just passed.

This appeared to require the more attention, as for several days past, the Journalists, and those who made motions in the Palais Royal and public places, had been endeavouring to raise the people by the most violent declamations on the subject of plots, asserted to be carried on by the supposed Austrian Committee. A list of the names of all the members composing this Committee was announced to be published soon: in the meantime, all true patriots were pathetically called upon to revenge the atrocious conspiracies formed against their liberty.

On the Sunday before, two orators had been taken up in the Palais Royal, who were haranguing to a crowd of people against the Court and the Austrian Committee. Their vehement declamations, and patriotic sentiments, excited such admiration, that the agents of police durst not have seized upon them, if they had not been, at the same time, detected picking the pockets of their admiring auditors. Upon examination, those two patriots were found to carry the marks of the whip

and burnt iron on their shoulders; patents of their association with the Jacobin Club were found at the same time in their pockets.

Possessed of the above facts, I went to confer with M. de Montmorin, who was equally interested with myself; and I was then informed, that Carra had, the day before, denounced the Austrian Committee in the Jacobin Club; and that both M. de Montmorin and myself were pointed out in the denunciation as the principal members of that Committee.

I thought I could not find a more favourable opportunity of unmasking the malice of those unprincipled men, and of exposing their atrocious motives for inventing this calumny. M. de Montmorin thought, on the contrary, that the wisest plan was to despise this clamour, and let it fall to the ground of itself; but, as he saw that I was not disposed to adopt that opinion, he earnestly besought me not to venture to act in a matter so extremely hazardous, without having calmly reflected upon it. My reflections were not long; and the result of them was, to give in a complaint to the criminal tribunal against Carra and his accomplices; particularly the Journalists, who contributed to spread the belief of the fable of the Austrian Committee; namely, Brissot and Condorcet, the writers of the *Chronique de Paris* and the *Patriote Français*; but, before I actually presented this accusation, I thought proper to submit it to the King and Queen; and accordingly sent a copy for their consideration. I then dispatched a courier to Anet, where the Princess of Lamballe was, to inform her of what had happened; and to enquire if she was acquainted with Richer de Sérisy, and had sent him to invite Regnault St. Jean d'Angely to attend a committee at her house; or if she knew of any committee either held at her own house or in her apartment in the palace.

The next day the King returned the copy of my complaint,

with the following words written on the margin with his own hand:

“I read to the Queen the complaint you propose giving in. We cannot mistake the motive which impels you; and we are sensibly touched with this proof of your attachment; but we fear that it will expose you to danger; have a care.”

That same day, I received exactly such an answer as I expected from the Princess de Lamballe: she knew neither Richer de Sérisy, nor Regnault St. Jean Angely; and had never in her life been of any Committee.

I wrote to the King, that no apprehension of personal danger would ever influence me to defer one moment any measure which I thought would be advantageous for his Majesty.

In consequence of my determination, I went to Buob, who advised me to carry this affair before the Tribunal of Police, which was then in force; and to make my complaint be heard by the Magistrate Larivière, who was the most intelligent and best disposed member of that Tribunal.

I took his advice; and, on my application, Larivière ordered the case to be brought before him, and witnesses to be heard.

The next day my complaint was published in the journals, and six thousands copies were sold in the capital. This step made a very great impression; and excepting the Jacobins, who were enraged at being thus publicly exposed, ridiculed, and debased, all parties were pleased, but above all those royalists, who had continued to attend at the palace, and assiduously to pay court to their Majesties, and who, upon that account, had reason to fear that their names would be inserted in the list of the Austrian Committee, announced to be published. On the following Sunday, therefore, as soon as I appeared at the King's levee, I received the compliments and thanks of many for what I had done.

After having heard the deposition of the Princess de Lam-

balle, M. de Malouet, and Regnault St. Jean d'Angely, and having in vain endeavoured to find out Richer de Sérisy, M. Larivière issued a decree that Carra should appear before him. He presented himself accordingly, and declared, in his own defence, that he had been authorised by Merlin, Bazire, and Chabot,³ members of the Committee of Public Safety, to bring forward the accusation against M. de Montmorin and M. Bertrand, which had given occasion for this complaint.

Richer de Sérisy called on me about a month after this affair was entirely over, and assured me that the invitation he had given to Regnault was a mere pleasantry of his own to expose the credulous vanity of the man, in which the Jacobins had no part. This may be true; but the contrary might naturally enough be believed by those who were not in Sérisy's confidence, or who had no great opinion of his veracity.

Upon this occasion, a Jacobin, whom I had formerly been acquainted with, called on me, and endeavoured, in vain, to alarm me upon the consequences of this affair.

"Those who persuaded you to undertake it," said he, "have given you very bad advice. I dare not tell you the extent of the danger which threatens you."

"Then I will tell you," answered I. "I am threatened with assassination, am I not? It is what I expected," continued I, "and I am prepared accordingly. Here is an excellent blunderbuss, charged with twenty-five balls; and be-

³ Antoine Merlin of Thionville, Claude Bazire and François Chabot were three members of the Extreme Left ("enragés," as they were generally called) of the Legislative Assembly. All three were re-elected to the Convention.

Bazire and Chabot were guillotined with Danton, Camille Desmoulins and others on the 5th April 1794. Merlin was more fortunate. He lived to serve as Representative-en-Mission during the siege of Mainz, became a leading member of the "Thermidorians" who overthrew Robespierre and was re-elected to the Corps Legislatif in 1795. He long survived the Revolution, dying at the age of 71, in September 1833.

sides, here are four pair of pistols, not to mention my sword. My brother is as well prepared; and I leave the rest to Providence: but whatever may be the consequences, I can blame nobody, for I had no counsellors."

"Well, it is altogether a very unlucky business," said he: "but you might still turn it to advantage, and gain as many friends among the Jacobins as you have among the aristocrats."

"That would be curious indeed," answered I. "Do you seriously imagine it possible?"

"Not only possible," said he, "but very easy, I will answer for it."

"But how is it to be done?" replied I; "for I shall never be able to guess."

"You have only to withdraw your complaint, declaring that your attack was originally directed against a few individuals: but finding that it might involve many good patriots, whose intentions are honest and praise-worthy, you therefore desist from all further prosecution. By this means your object will be effectually fulfilled, without danger to yourself; for you may be assured that the Austrian Committee will never more be heard of."

"So this is your advice?" replied I. "To which I answer, that were it in my power to follow it, I would not; and were it *now* in my inclination, I could not, because the information is already given to the Court, and the judges have only to pass sentence."

"Oh! as for that," said he, "means might be found to stop the proceedings."

"No more, if you please, on this subject," said I, a little out of humour.

"I beg," replied he, "that you may take great care, sir, of what you are about. This is a very serious matter. It is

only my attachment for you which leads me to give you this advice; for nobody desired me to speak to you upon the business. I once more beg you will reflect."

"Yes, yes," interrupted I, "I shall reflect. Give yourself no uneasiness. I wish you good morning."

And so ended our conversation.

M. de Montmorin, seeing the good effect my measure produced, added his complaint to mine; and a few days afterward we jointly gave in an accusation against Merlin, Bazire, and Chabot, who, according to Carra's testimony, were the real instigators of our denunciation in the Jacobins. Upon this new complaint, Larivière issued an order to arrest Merlin, Bazire, and Chabot: but unluckily he was carried away by the desire of acting a great part, and of making himself remarkable; and in defiance of every consideration of prudence, he drew upon himself the indignation of the Assembly, by executing the law in the most disrespectful manner against these popular members, whom he caused to be raised out of their beds, and brought before his tribunal at five o'clock in the morning. His pretence for this inconsiderate conduct was, that he wished to avoid interfering with their attendance on the Assembly, and summoned them at that early hour, that they might be at liberty when the Assembly met.

This bold attack on the dignity of the national representation might naturally be supposed to excite the animadversions of the Assembly, and accordingly Larivière was summoned to the bar to answer for his conduct. He presented himself with steadiness, and justified his proceedings by an appeal to the Constitution, which had not established any distinction in the manner of arresting persons in different situations, and therefore he could not presume to introduce any new form.

This tribute to the equality of rights conciliated the galleries and part of the Assembly; but unfortunately for him,

he drew upon himself the hatred of the majority, by the contempt which his account of the depositions and examination raised against the fable of the Austrian Committee. Brissot and Gensonné could not endure that an invention, which they had employed so successfully against the Court, should be treated as a ridiculous chimera. They did not scruple to assert, that the circumstances stated in the process were false; and they engaged to bring before the Assembly the most evident proofs of the reality of the Austrian Committee, and of the plots which were there planned.

This report was adjourned for eight days. His Majesty, in the meantime, affected with the danger which the ill-judged though well-meant, zeal of M. Larivière had drawn upon him, was desirous to assist him by every means in his power; for which purpose, he commissioned the Minister of Justice to send an order to the Public Prosecutor to proceed against the inventors and propagators of the calumny regarding the Austrian Committee; and he sent a letter to inform the Assembly of what he had done. But this did not prevent the Assembly from passing a decree against M. Larivière, who was accordingly sent to the prison at Orleans, for having failed in respect to the nation in the person of its representatives.

This truly honest man shared the fate of the prisoners who were sent to Orleans. All were massacred in the September following, excepting some domestics, and an officer of artillery named Loyauty, who was grievously, but not mortally wounded.

The report of Brissot and Gensonné drew an immense concourse to the Assembly. Each of the reporters spoke a long while, and were listened to with attention: but instead of the evident proofs they had announced, their speeches consisted of declamation, and assertions unsupported by any proof at all.

"These are but words," was repeated from all sides. "To

the proofs, to the proofs. Where, then, are your proofs?"

The silence of the deputies, upon this summons, raised a general hiss and burst of laughing; and here the Assembly broke up.

A few days after, M. de Montmorin and I published separately our answers to these reports, which we set in such a ridiculous point of view, that from that time forward no journalist or motion-maker ventured to mention the Austrian Committee; and if any persons afterwards, in private, attempted to speak of it seriously, they were laughed at.

LOUIS THE SIXTEENTH.

CHAPTER IV.

A secret message to foreign courts, with which M. Mallet-du-Pan is entrusted.—I advise the King to recommend him to the Baron de Breteuil.—His Majesty's answer.—The effect which the unhappy issue of his journey to Varennes had produced on the King's mind, with respect to the Baron de Breteuil.—The powers with which his Majesty had entrusted that minister.—The period and motives of their revocation.—Cause of the quarrel between Messrs. de Breteuil and Calonne.—Mallet-du-Pin's.—Exhausted state of the civil list.—Secret loan.

THE campaign was going to open; and although the King did not foresee all the ill consequences which would follow, yet he looked forward to the war with very great inquietude. Above all, he apprehended that the victories, which he did not doubt would be gained by the Austrians and Prussians, would rekindle the fury of the Jacobins against the priests and nobles who still remained in France.

The fears which his Majesty expressed in his letters to me, were the occasion of my proposing to him to send a person of confidence to the Emperor and the King of Prussia, to endeavour to prevail on them not to allow their armies to act offensively against France, until they should be under the last necessity of so doing; and even in that case to make the entrance of their armies into France be preceded by a manifesto, in which they should declare, "that, forced to take arms by an unjust attack, they did not impute that aggression either to the King or to the French nation, but to a criminal faction which oppressed both; consequently, far from departing from the sentiments of amity which united them to France, that their intention, on the contrary, was to

deliver that nation from tyranny, and restore it to legal order and tranquillity; that they had no view of interfering with the form of government, but merely to secure to the nation the right of adopting that which suited it the best; that all idea of conquest was foreign to their thoughts; that private property should be by them respected as well as national property; that their Majesties took all peaceable and faithful subjects under their protection; that they considered as their enemies those only who were the enemies of France, namely, the faction of Jacobins and all its adherents," &c.

In consequence of the manner in which I had often heard M. Malouet speak of Mallet-du-Pin,¹ with whom I was not

¹ Jaques Mallet-du-Pin, by birth a Genoese, by profession a journalist, for several years editor of the "*Mercure de France*," was chosen, as here narrated on Bertrand de Moleville's recommendation, to fulfil a confidential mission, immediately after the declaration of war with Austria and Prussia. For the moment he failed, since the braggart and stupid manifesto of the Duke of Brunswick was issued in exact contradiction to his advice. Shortly afterwards the 10th August put an end to his mission.

The next six years of his life were passed in flight from one town in Switzerland and Germany to another, until finding the continent too dangerous, he took refuge in England in 1798, and founded the "*Mercure Britannique*." In May 1800, he died at the age of 51, at the house of his friend, Count Lally-Totendal, at Richmond, leaving his family ill provided for. A subscription was raised for his family which reached a considerable sum, and a pension of £200 per annum was granted to his widow from the Civil List. It is impossible to speak of Mallet-du-Pin in any terms but those of unqualified eulogy. A republican by birth and probably by predilection, he was one of the most courageous defenders of Louis XVI., and one of the wisest counsellors of Louis XVIII. He saw both sides of the Revolution more justly and clearly than any other contemporary, since he never allowed himself, as did Burke, to be carried off his feet by detestation of Jacobinism.

He incurred the bitter hatred of the bellicose section of the emigrés, and the respect of the class represented by the Duke de Liancourt and Lally-Totendal. A single specimen of his foresight and judgment is all that can be given here.

In warning the coalition, on the outbreak of the war, of the

myself acquainted, I advised the King to employ him on this occasion, which could be done with the more safety, because he had never been at court, and was little known to those who frequented it; and he might proceed to Germany by the way of Geneva, to which city he was in the use of making frequent journeys, and of course his departure would create no suspicion.

The talents and probity of Mallet-du-Pin were not unknown to the King, who immediately agreed to my proposal. It would have been imprudent to have given him letters of credit, but at the same time it was absolutely necessary that he should have the means of convincing the Emperor and the King of Prussia that he was really sent by Louis XVI. In my letter to his Majesty I therefore proposed to address Mallet-du-Pin to the Baron de Breteuil; and I gave, as my reason for this proposal, *the powers which, as I had heard*, that minister had received from the King. In answer to this article of my letter, the King wrote in the margin,

“Not at all. He has no longer any powers from me: but you may address Mallet-du-Pin, in my name, to the Marshal de Castries, with the precautions you propose, which are very necessary.”

This answer recalled to my memory marks of displeasure which I had observed in the King's countenance, when the Baron de Breteuil's name was mentioned in his presence. One day, in particular, before M. de Lessart and me, the following sentence, pronounced in an angry tone, escaped him:

“It was he that prompted us to take that accursed journey to Varennes.”

necessity of making it clear to all Frenchmen that they were taking up arms against the Jacobins and not against the Nation, he uttered the memorable prophecy, “The army with which you have to deal is neither Republican nor Royalist. It is French.” A truth to which each successive year of the Revolution bore accumulative evidence.

Having frequently since had the opportunity of conversing with the Marquis de Bouillé, I once asked an explanation of this expression of the King, because it seemed to disagree entirely with the letter which the Marquis wrote to the Assembly, after the King's return, in which he took on himself the whole blame of that journey. M. de Bouillé told me that he had written that letter, to turn the fury of the Assembly from the King and others, by arrogating the whole contrivance of the plan to himself. At the same time he positively assured me, that the project of Varennes had been first proposed by the Baron de Breteuil; that the Bishop of Pamiers (C. d'Agault de Bonneval) being sent to him by that Minister with a letter from the King, on the 22d of October 1790, had informed him of the plan of the escape of the royal family to Montmedi, assuring M. de Bouillé, that this was the only condition on which the Emperor would take an active part in favour of the King; and that the Baron was the chief manager of the project; that he (the Marquis de Bouillé) had strongly objected to it, representing the dismal consequences that so very dangerous a step might have; that it would be more advisable to wait until the people in general, and the Army in particular, were entirely disabused, and until the opinion of both should become more favourable for the King, which it was doing every hour; that by the influence which the famous affair at Nancy had given to him over the troops and inhabitants of Alsace and Lorraine, he was convinced that he could have made them adopt the white cockade, had he not been prevented by express orders from his Majesty; that the Bishop of Pamiers (C. d'Agault de Bonneval) had answered to all this, that the King was absolutely resolved to follow this plan, but that he would defer its execution until the spring, that M. de Bouillé might have time to prepare every thing necessary to insure success. After this, M. de

Bouillé told me that he corresponded with the King and Queen, by the means of the Baron de Fersen and of the Baroness de Korff; that he had frequently renewed his remonstrances to their Majesties against this perilous enterprise.

M. de Bouillé attributed its failure; First, To the suspicions which arose from the troops detached to protect the King, remaining too long on the road. This was owing to his departure from Paris having been deferred twenty-four hours longer than had been intended, of which M. de Bouillé was not informed till after the departure of the different detachments.

Secondly; To the King's having forgotten to order a courier or two, as had been agreed on, to set out two hours before the carriage in which the royal family were, on purpose to inform the commanding officers of the detachments and posts that were established on the route.

Thirdly; To the stop occasioned by an accident that happened to one of the carriages between Paris and Chalons.

Fourthly; To the detachment at the first post after Chalons having been removed before the royal family arrived. The officer who commanded, having waited an hour beyond the time he had calculated for the King's arrival, imagined that the scheme had been abandoned, and therefore removed his troop.

M. de Bouillé's assertions respecting the failure of this plan for the King's escape are confirmed, or at least strongly supported, by a statement which that General made from the reports of all the officers employed in its execution; a piece equally curious and authentic, which I shall give at length at the end of this chapter.

With respect to the powers given to the Baron de Breteuil, I shall report, word for word, what I was assured of by two

gentlemen, members of the council formed in Germany by the Princes, the King's brothers, in the year 1792. Both of these gentlemen enjoyed the confidence of their royal highnesses.

When the Baron de Breteuil left Versailles, at the period of M. Necker's recall, he was invested with the power of treating with foreign courts, and of proposing any measure in the King's name, which, in his opinion, tended to promote the re-establishment of the royal authority, or of good order in the Kingdom. No advantage appears to have been derived from this power, while he had a right to make use of it; but it will appear, by what follows, that he continued to employ it when he was no longer authorised to do so, unless he received new powers from his Majesty posterior to the period in question, namely, the month of May 1792, in which case he will be able to justify himself completely, when he shows the second, or renewed powers, as well as the first, which were recalled.

In July 1789, when the King was obliged to go to the *Hotel de Ville*, he had given a paper to his brother *Monsieur* (Count de Provence, afterwards Louis XVIII.), in which he named him Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom, and entrusted him with the Government, in the case of his being out of a situation to exercise his authority. That paper was afterwards returned by *Monsieur* to the King, in the year 1790. But when the royal family were preparing to set out for Varennes, in June 1791, the King told M. de Fersen, who was in the secret of the journey, that he would give to him a writing, to the same effect with the former, to be delivered to his brother *Monsieur*, to be made use of by him in case the King himself should be stopped, and deprived of his authority. The hurry of his departure having prevented his Majesty from writing this paper, he charged M. de Fersen, who accompanied him part of the way, to go to

Monsieur, wherever he might be, and instruct him verbally of his positive intentions; and to assure him, that he (the King) would send the paper in question, signed by himself, as soon as he should have it in his power to transmit it.

M. de Fersen fulfilled his commission, when he joined the Princes at Bruxelles, after the King was stopped, on which Monsieur wrote to the Baron de Breteuil. The letter was dated July 2, 1791. "That he had received positive information that it was the King's intention, that he, in conjunction with his brother, the Count d'Artois (afterwards Charles X.), should treat with foreign powers respecting the means of procuring the King's liberty, and whatever might concern the re-establishment of order and was for the good of the State; consequently that the Baron de Breteuil must now consider the powers, which he had formerly been invested with, as revoked; and in future he must take no steps, for the King's service, but those prescribed by the King's brothers."

A few days after, Monsieur received those powers, in writing, from the King, dated July 7, 1791.

The Baron de Breteuil answered Monsieur, that he would soon join the Princes, and would act conformably to their intentions. He accordingly met them at Bonn, in their way to Coblenz. He did not then hesitate to acknowledge "that his powers were revoked;" but he intreated Monsieur to leave him in possession of the writing containing them, which he valued as the most honourable recompense of his long services. At the same time he gave his word of honour to make no farther use of it, and never to interfere in the affairs of France or of the Princes, but in conformity with the orders he might hereafter receive from them.

Notwithstanding all this, and in spite of the fresh orders from the King, delivered to the Baron by M. de Viomenil,

in the end of the year 1791, not to act in any respect but in concert with the King's brothers and the Marshal de Castries, it is asserted, that after the fatal 10th of August 1792, he recommenced a correspondence, in the King's name, with the different Courts, as if he had been invested with fresh powers; and that, without consulting the Princes, he sent the Viscount de Caraman to Berlin, and the Marquis de Bombelles to Saint Petersburg; but the Empress formally refused to acknowledge him, and continued to treat with M. d'Esterhazy, who represented the Princes at the Court of Russia, as the Baron de Roll did at the Court of Prussia.

When the Baron de Breteuil found that the King of Prussia and the Emperor were determined to acknowledge Monsieur as Regent of the Kingdom, he wrote to their Majesties, that he was in possession of very important papers upon that subject; and that he would join them at the armies if they would suspend their resolution till his arrival. At the same time he gave Monsieur to understand, that he would throw no obstacle in the way of his Regency, provided he would entrust him to fulfil the King's intentions respecting the choice of the members of his Council.

However, he indirectly informed both their Majesties and the Princes, that it was the presence of M. de Calonne only which prevented his immediately concurring in their views.

The Princes were embarrassed how to act, when M. de Calonne, who had always declared that he would retire as soon as the Princes were ready to enter France, said to their highnesses, "That since his attendance, which proceeded from motives of disinterested attachment only, was supposed to form the least obstacle to Monsieur's assuming the title of Regent, he would, with their permission, retire for the present;" adding, "that he was sorry to find, that in spite of the disposition he had manifested to conciliate the Baron de

Breteuil, that gentleman still continued inimical." M. de Calonne then set off, carrying with him the gratitude of the royal brothers, and the esteem of many officers of the army. Baron de Breteuil arrived soon after at Verdun; and immediately began to act as if invested with the whole authority. He disregarded his former engagement; and, in the name of the King and Queen, opposed the Regency which was about to be declared.

That Minister's hatred against M. de Calonne, and the prejudice which he raised in the Queen's mind against him, contributed but too much to the Revolution; therefore, the origin of this fatal quarrel cannot be considered as foreign to these Memoirs. I received a general account of it, at the time it happened, from M. de Montmorin, who was an intimate friend of M. le Noir; and the particulars were since communicated to me by M. de Calonne himself; and are as follows:

In the year 1783, the Baron de Breteuil and M. de Calonne, being called to the Ministry about the same time, formed betwixt themselves a treaty of alliance; the strict observance of which would have been for the advantage of both.

It was agreed, among other articles, that in case one of them should, at any time, imagine that he had just cause of complaint against the other, he was directly to come to an explanation.

This good understanding was kept up nearly two years, and contributed to give fresh vigour to the Government, which had suffered great relaxation under an almost uninterrupted succession of weak Ministers ever since the reign of Louis XIV.

This union was broken by a misunderstanding which took place between the two Ministers, on occasion of an intrigue that was set on foot to overturn M. de Calonne, and put M

Foulon² in his place. The scheme was contrived by some of the principal members of the Parlement; some meetings about it were held at the Hôtel de Choiseul; the Duchess of Gramont seemed to connive at it, being eager to promote whatever might effect a general overturn of the Ministry, in the hope of seeing her brother (the Duc de Choiseul) re-established in his former situation. This must appear the more shocking, because M. de Calonne had lately persuaded the King to advance three millions of livres to the Duc de Choiseul, for two years, without interest, on condition of his giving a sufficient security, that being the only means of saving him from bankruptcy: the Queen had first suggested this, and afterwards promoted it by her influence, in gratitude to the Duke, to whom she considered herself as indebted for her situation of Queen of France.

M. de Calonne had notice of Foulon's scheme, through some

² Joseph François Foulon, who had held several high offices in the French service, is now chiefly remembered on account of his horrible end.

Being strongly opposed to the Revolution, he became one of the favourite subjects of abuse to the Orations of the Palais Royal, who attributed to him the saying, "If these wretched peasants have no bread, let them learn to eat grass." On the 11th July he was appointed to the short-lived Ministry which dissolved on Necker's return four days later. Foulon hastily left Paris and took refuge at Viry-sur-Orge, the property of his friend de Sartines. Here he was discovered and brought to the Hotel de Ville of Paris on the 22nd July. An immense mob gathered, and in spite of the efforts of La Fayette and of the Committee of Electors engaged in organizing the National Guard, Foulon was dragged into the street and after several unsuccessful efforts to hang him was finally drawn up to one of the lanterns which swung across the Rue St. Martin. On the same evening his son-in-law, Bertier, was also captured by the mob and after being nearly cut to pieces was hung to a lantern in the Place de Greve. The heads of Foulon and Bertier were carried on pikes and the heart of Bertier on the edge of a sabre through Paris amid shameful orgies which lasted through the night following their march.

of his friends; and all the particulars were afterwards discovered by the agents of police. M. le Noir, then Lieutenant of Police, gave an account in his daily reports, addressed to the Baron de Breteuil, of every new circumstance relating to this affair. The King was, or ought to have been informed of it, as it was the duty of the Baron, in quality of Minister for Paris, to lay these reports before his Majesty.

Several days elapsed after the discovery of the plot, without the King's taking any notice of it to M. de Calonne, who was surprised on that account; at last, his Majesty not only spoke of it, but reproached M. de Calonne for not having mentioned the affair to him, and particularly the intrigues which were carried on at the Hôtel de Choiseul. He answered, in his justification, that being convinced that the King must be informed of every circumstance of it by the reports of M. le Noir, he had refrained from speaking, in the hopes that his Majesty would speak first, and condescend to show some interest in a thing which concerned him so much.

"There is not a word about it in the reports of M. le Noir, presented to me by the Baron de Breteuil," said the King; "and my reason for not mentioning the affair till to-day, is merely because I was ignorant of it yesterday."

M. de Calonne, never imagining that the Baron de Breteuil could have any motive for concealing this plot from the King, supposed that his Majesty had not read the reports with attention: he happened to have some of them in his pocket, which he gave to the King, who, on reading them, was equally surprised and displeased to find facts there, of which he was entirely unacquainted. He compared these with the reports of the same date given him by the Baron de Breteuil, and was extremely irritated on perceiving them entirely different.

M. de Calonne endeavoured to justify his colleague, who he said, could not intend to deceive his Majesty, but had

probably only deferred mentioning the affair till it was cleared up.

"That is no excuse," answered the King, hastily; "he ought never to give me a false, or an unexact report; and I desire you will order M. le Noir, in my name, to send the reports henceforth directly to me."

M. de Calonne, after having in vain represented to the King how very much this would mortify the Baron, who must look upon it as a disgrace, excused himself from undertaking the commission, saying it was not the province of the Minister of Finance to transmit his Majesty's orders to the Lieutenant of Police: if, therefore, he were to be the carrier of that order, the Baron would accuse him of being the suggester of it. But if his Majesty persisted in his intention, it would be better that he gave the order himself to M. le Noir, either verbally or in writing.

"Well," said the King, "only desire le Noir to address one of his reports to me; and, after receiving it, I shall write to him to continue to send them always to me. In the meantime, I'll speak to the Baron de Breteuil; but, until then, do you say nothing to him of what has passed."

M. le Noir, in obedience to the King's orders, notified by M. de Calonne, next day addressed the report of the police directly to his Majesty.

On the same day, the King wrote to le Noir the letter which he had agreed upon with M. de Calonne, enjoining him to continue to address the reports directly to him, till farther orders. The valet charged with this letter, not finding M. le Noir at home, unluckily went to the Baron de Breteuil's house, where he made himself be announced in the name of the King, on which the folding doors of the apartment where the Baron was were thrown open, according to custom, and the messenger entered.

The Minister was transacting business with the Lieutenant of Police: he advanced with eagerness to receive the King's letter; but was told that it was for M. le Noir: M. le Noir took it, and modestly put it into his pocket.

"Read it, read your letter," said the Baron, in an imperious tone.

"I shall read it at home, sir," answered M. le Noir.

"No, no, sir, when a Lieutenant of Police receives a letter from the King, he ought to read it instantly; and everything else must be postponed."

M. le Noir no longer hesitated; and, having read the letter, he was again going to put it into his pocket, when the Baron asked him drily what the contents were.

"I am not authorised to communicate them, sir," answered M. le Noir.

"And pray, sir," said the Baron, "how long is it since you began to receive letters from the King?"

"This is the first."

"And has the King forbid you to communicate it to me?"

"No, sir, but —"

"But, but," said the Baron, "a letter from the King to the Lieutenant of Police ought not to be a secret to the Minister of Paris."

Saying this, he snatched the letter from M. le Noir, before he was aware, and read it.

"How long, sir," said the Baron, "have you been in the habit of sending your reports to his Majesty?"

"I have only sent one," answered le Noir.

"And for what reason, if you please, sir, did you send that one?"

"Because I received an order from his Majesty for so doing."

"By whom did you receive the order?"

"I am not at liberty to mention it."

"Ah! it is a secret, is it? Very well, sir, that's sufficient: we shall see."

M. le Noir put up his papers and withdrew, leaving the Minister violently agitated and in very bad humour.

As soon as M. le Noir was gone, the Baron ordered his carriage, and drove to Versailles. He alighted at the hotel of M. de Vergennes, whom he firmly believed to have been the instigator of the mortification he had received; and he complained of the injury in the most vehement terms.

But as the King had not said a single word to M. de Vergennes on this subject, that Minister was astonished at the Baron's emotion, and could not give him the least explanation; so that he returned to Paris as much in the dark, and more dissatisfied than when he left it.

M. de Calonne being informed of this scene by M. de Vergennes, on whom he called a few minutes after the Baron had left him, immediately dispatched a courier to M. le Noir, desiring him to give the Baron an exact account of all that had passed.

The latter, still impatient to clear up the mystery, arrived at the *Hotel de Police* about an hour after M. de Calonne's courier; and, immediately on his beginning to question M. le Noir, the letter was communicated to him; and he was afterwards informed of every circumstance by that gentleman, who repeated word for word the conversation with the King as M. de Calonne had presented it to him.

The Baron, who had been for two days a prey to doubts and surmises, was now fully convinced that a plot had been formed for his ruin; and, however clear and natural the relation which M. le Noir made to him was, he could perceive nothing in the whole of it but what his prejudice and re-

sentment was in search of, namely, treachery and an enemy. From that moment, the Baron breathed hatred and vengeance against M. de Calonne. Instead of desiring an explanation according to their mutual agreement, he only thought of the means of revenging this supposed treachery. With this view, he represented the affair to the Queen as a piece of malice levelled at her Majesty: that M. de Calonne, from his intimacy with M. le Noir, and having the direction of the reports of the police all addressed to the King, would have the Queen herself, in a great measure, in his power; and might give such a representation of even her most innocent actions as would entirely ruin her in the King's esteem.

The Queen, who had no knowledge of the motives for the order given to M. le Noir, yielded implicit faith to the Baron de Breteuil's suggestions. Of course she was extremely irritated against M. de Calonne; and went directly to the King's apartment, where she complained to his Majesty, with great bitterness, of that Minister, and of M. le Noir. The King burst out laughing; and assured her, "that there was not a word of truth in the absurd story which she was so simple as to be alarmed at."

This assurance was far from undeceiving the Queen; she inflexibly repelled every explanation tending to justify M. de Calonne; and remained firmly convinced that he had formed the rash design of which the Baron de Breteuil accused him.

In this manner, that Princess was made the instrument of an unjust vengeance; and, from that period, she took every opportunity of injuring M. de Calonne. Ah! could she have foreseen the fatal consequences of his disgrace which she was so earnest in accelerating.

Returning to the commission of Mallet-du-Pin, I must now relate the precautions which the King had desired me to

use respecting the letter I was to give to him for the Marshal de Castries:³ this letter was open, without address; and so contrived, that in case of his being arrested, and the letter found on him, and sent to the Assembly, nothing in it would have betrayed that it was intended for any other than Mallet du Pin himself.

This letter was of course very vague, and apparently insignificant, particularly as I knew very little of M. de Castries, and had never written to him before; it was conceived nearly in the subsequent terms:

“The bearer of this letter, sir, is intrusted by, and acquainted with the views of a family to whom you are much attached. With the fullest reliance on your zeal, I recommend him to you: he has undertaken this journey for the service of that interesting family; and, I am convinced, that when he acquaints you with the affair in question, you will support his views by every means in your power.”

M. Mallet-du-Pin was particularly desired to recommend to the foreign powers never to place the emigrants in the foremost ranks, but rather to employ them in garrison. This recommendation was attributed to the apprehension which they supposed had been suggested to the King of the extravagant claims which the emigrants might make if his Majesty was reduced to the humiliation of owing the re-

³ Armand de La Croix, Duke de Castries, a military officer who had served in America during the war of Independence, was elected in May 1789 to the States-General.

In the National Assembly, he ardently embraced the Royalist cause. In June 1790, he challenged Charles de Lameth, a nobleman on the opposite side, and wounded him in a duel.

Consequently a serious riot took place. The Duke de Castries's house was pillaged and burnt and the Duke emigrated and joined the Army of Condé. After serving under Condé for a short period, he raised and commanded a corps of *Émigrés* in Portugal.

The Duke did not return to France until the Restoration in 1814. He survived the Revolution by many years, dying at the age of 86, in January 1842.

establishment of his authority to their services. Although I am not ignorant that arts were used to inspire both the King and Queen with this odious jealousy, I must do them the justice to declare, that I never observed the slightest trace of it in their Majesties. On the contrary, I always remarked in them every indication of friendship for the Princes, and the warmest concern for the French nobility: above all, they evinced the utmost horror at the idea of a civil war. The King's most ardent desire was, that the emigrants might return into France without bearing the reproach of having shed a drop of their countrymen's blood.

I had contrived a cipher, which it was quite impossible to make out, without the key, which was known only to Mallet du Pin, myself, and M. Malouet, with whom the former was directed occasionally to correspond, to prevent the suspicion which might have arisen from a great many letters from Germany being addressed to me. It was agreed, that as soon as M. Malouet should receive a letter, he was directly to communicate it to me; and that I should transmit a copy of it to the King, as well as of all the letters from Mallet du Pin that came addressed to myself.

A few days after the arrival of Mallet-du-Pin in Germany, and after his first conferences with the Duke of Brunswick, and with the Ministers of the courts of Vienna and of Berlin, he wrote to me, that he had reason to be satisfied with the reception he had met with from M. de Castries, who had given him very favourable letters of recommendation; but as his commission was only supported by a letter from me, and as my intimacy with the King was not known in Germany, he seemed only to be attended to from deference to M. de Castries; and, that there was so much circumspection and reserve maintained, that he could promise himself no success unless I could contrive to send him, by a safe conveyance, a

few words written by the King himself. He did not require this paper to be signed, as the King's writing was known by those for whom it was intended. I sent the contents of this letter to his Majesty, and proposed to him to write the following words on a very small slip of paper:

"The person who presents this paper, knows my intentions, and credit may be given to what he says in my name."

The post was a safe enough conveyance at that time, as the custom of stopping and opening letters was not yet introduced. The letter intended to contain this writing was not folded or sealed in any way which could attract the attention of the spies whom the Assembly kept in the post-offices; it was not to be sent to Mallet-du-Pin under his own name, but under the assumed name of a German banker. My letter was not in cipher, and did not contain a word of public affairs, or of the King's, but only the circumstantial account of a contest supposed to have taken place betwixt the partners of a commercial house; the matter in question was to bring the affair to an amicable conclusion, through the mediation of the German banker, to whom this letter was supposed to be written.

When the King read the above letter, he no longer apprehended any danger from sending the few lines I desired; he accordingly wrote them, and the letter was dispatched to Mallet-du-Pin. It produced the desired effect; for when the Duke of Brunswick and the Ministers from the courts of Vienna and Berlin saw the writing attested by M. de Castries, to be in the King's own hand, they no longer hesitated to explain themselves respecting the plan of a manifesto which Mallet-du-Pin proposed to them.

Every article of it was discussed with him, and the first intention was to adopt it; but, at the opening of the campaign, the Duke of Brunswick made considerable alterations in the

manifesto,⁴ the effect of which did not answer his intentions. His menaces were laughed at, except by the few who had the simplicity to imagine that his triumphant army would be at the gates of Paris in eight days. But, in general, so far from inspiring terror and repressing sedition, this ill-judged manifesto excited the most lively indignation; and the King was supposed to have suggested those articles which regarded the safety of his own person and family.

If Mallet-du-Pin had been present when the alterations in

⁴ The Duke of Brunswick's "ill judged Manifesto," the term is a mild one, was issued on the 25th July 1793. It was probably drawn up by the Émigrés of Condé's Army. Instead of the mild and judicious document proposed by Mallet-du-Pin, this Manifesto was couched in language as wild and furious as that of the Jacobins themselves. It declared that the inhabitants of cities, towns or villages who defended themselves against the Prussians or Austrians, or fired upon them in the field or from their horses would be instantly punished with all the rigour of the laws of war. The city of Paris and all its inhabitants are required to submit immediately to the King. It is declared that the allied Sovereigns of Austria and Prussia will hold the members of the National Assembly and of the Municipality personally responsible for the safety and welfare of the King, and are prepared, if the Palace of the Tuileries is invaded, or outrages are offered to the King and Queen, to take an exemplary and memorable revenge by giving up the city of Paris to military vengeance and total destruction. Such a document is wholly indefensible and would produce no effect on a high spirited and warlike nation, but defiance and a determination to resist to the uttermost. The only possible justification on the part of the Duke of Brunswick and his army would have been an immediate and sustained advance on Paris, whereas neither he, nor his generals, nor the soldiers under his command, showed the smallest desire to carry these "brave words" into action. His army lingered about the frontier towns, fought languidly and took the earliest opportunity to retreat, leaving the whole brunt of the war to be borne by its Austrian allies. The effect of the Manifesto was fatal to the Monarchy.

Louis XVI. hastened to disavow it, but neither the Assembly nor the people believed for a moment in his disavowal. The war became popular with thousands who had hitherto dreaded, or held aloof from it, and a weapon was placed in the hands of those who wished for a Republic, which proved irresistible.

the manifesto were proposed, he would have certainly represented all the ill effect they were likely to produce; but he was then in Switzerland, having considered his mission as entirely concluded when his plan of a manifesto had been approved of and apparently adopted. When I heard of his departure from Germany, I wrote to him by the King's orders, desiring him to return to Frankfort; but neither that letter, nor one which I wrote a few days after, with fresh instructions, ever were received by him; and I am ignorant what became of them. But into whatever hands they fell, nothing could be made of them, being both written in cipher, and addressed to one of his assumed names.

As it was by no means proper to allow Mallet-du-Pin to make so long a journey at his own expense, the King authorised me to give him the sum of two thousand crowns, which he thought too much, and would only receive on condition of his keeping an account of his expenses, and returning the remainder.

The civil list was, at this period, greatly exhausted by the enormous expense which the clothing, &c. of the King's new guards occasioned; also by the assistance granted to several gentlemen who had been ruined by the Revolution, and by M. de La Port's daily payments for secret services.

His Majesty having expressed to me some uneasiness upon the impending failure of the civil list, I considered in what manner I could procure a sum of money, which was by no means an easy matter in the present circumstances, because the King could not then take up money by any public act without extreme danger.

Luckily, I was informed by one of my brothers, who was a Knight of Malta, that the order to which he belonged still retained in their possession the eight hundred thousand livres which they had engaged to pay for the Patriotic Contribution, on condition that the National Assembly would decree the

inviolability of the property belonging to that order; but as this decree never had been passed, and very probably never would, that money was still at the disposal of the order. These considerations appeared to me sufficient to induce the Order of Malta to lend his Majesty part of the sum destined for the payment of the patriotic contribution; and I commissioned my brother to make the proposal to the commander, who was procureur general of the order. He very readily agreed to it, and it met with no obstacle from the Baillie de Virieu, whose consent was also necessary, as he was at that time ambassador of the order in France. In short, after a negotiation of two days, I had it in my power to send the King a sum of five hundred thousand livres, at the moment when he least expected it. His Majesty gave me a receipt, made out in my name, under which I wrote, "that the sum was lent me by the Order of Malta, according to my agreement with the procureur general." This paper I kept with great care, in a secret and safe place, till the 10th of August. I then returned it to that brave and loyal chevalier

M. de Bouillé's statement on the King's journey from Chalons to Varennes, when his Majesty and the royal family left Paris to go to Montmédy.

"In consequence of the King and Queen's order, M. de Bouillé informed M. de Goguelat, an officer of rank, of their Majesties' intention to go to Montmédy, and the arrangements he had made to receive them. That officer had been sent to Paris a little before the King left it, and brought his Majesty's definitive orders to the General; in obedience to which he had ordered M. de Goguelat to reconnoitre the different posts on their route, and to await personally for their Majesties at Pont-Somme-Velle, the first post after passing Chalons, and three leagues beyond that town. M. de Goguelat carried a written

order from the King, for the commander of the detachment at Chalons to obey M. de Choiseul, who was to arrive there twelve hours before the royal family. M. de Choiseul himself was authorised by his Majesty to deliver the orders of M. de Bouillé to each officer commanding a detachment on this service, and at the same time to give them particular orders conformable to any new circumstance which might have occurred since that General had formed his plan.

“M. de Choiseul or M. de Goguelat were to arrive at each post from Pont-Somme-Ville, at a proper time previous to the royal family, to give the commanding officers timely notice that the troops, and everything else necessary for the speedy and safe passage of the carriages, should be in readiness all the way; M. de Bouillé, in the meantime, being in a central position, that he might have it in his power to protect the royal family, in case of necessity.

“Agreeably to this plan, M. de Goguelat had left Varennes to go to Pont-Somme-Ville on the 20th of June, with forty hussars of the regiment of Lauzun, on the pretext of escorting a large sum of money expected for the use of the troops. These hussars were under the command of M. Boudet, a lieutenant. They passed the night of the 20th at Sainte-Menehould, and arrived on the 21st at Pont-Somme-Ville. Forty dragoons of the regiment royal, commanded by M. d'Andouin their captain, arrived on the same day at Sainte-Menehould. A detachment of a hundred dragoons of the regiment of Monsieur, and sixty of the regiment Royal, came on the 20th to Clermont, on pretence of going into cantonments at Mouzon on the Meuse, but with orders to remain, on the 21st, at Clermont. They were under the command of M. de Damas. Sixty hussars of the regiment of Lauzun, commanded by M. Rodwell (otherwise called Rohrig), a lieutenant, were posted at Varennes; a hundred of the same regiment, under the command of

M. d'Eslon, at Dun; fifty of the regiment of Royal Allemand, under M. Guntzer, were placed at Mouzag, a village between Dun and Stenay. This last were intended to have escorted the royal family all the way to Montmédy, where his Majesty would have found several regiments ready to form an encampment, which some others, already on their march, were to join on the 21st and 22d. Some of the commanding officers of those detachments were privy to the plan; the others were in hourly expectation of meeting with the military chest with the money. They had orders to hold their troops in constant readiness, to watch attentively over every occurrence that should take place at their respective posts. A courier, who preceded the carriage of the royal family by some hours, was to give these commanding officers timely notice of the King's arrival.

"The orders signed by the King, and to be presented successively to each detachment by M. de Choiseul and M. de Gougelat, enjoined the officers and soldiers to escort the King and his family, and to use every means in their power for their protection. Those two gentlemen were to inform the King, when he arrived at Pont-Somme-Ville, of the disposition of the troops intended for his escort, and his Majesty was then to give them orders respecting the manner in which he wished to continue his route.

"In case the King thought proper to let himself be known, each detachment was to keep close to the carriage all the way, till it was relieved by the succeeding detachment at the new post: but if the King preferred remaining *incognito*, his carriage was to pass for that which carried the military chest. The detachments were to fall behind at convenient distances, to give the King's party time to change horses without suspicion; at the same time not to lose sight, or to be at too great a distance for giving assistance in case of need. In either of

those suppositions, the officers who commanded the detachments were to be informed by M. de Choiseul or Goguelat at the King's arrival at each post, that his Majesty was in the carriage: but it was only in case he did not think it necessary to preserve the *incognito* that the privates of the detachments were to be informed. All the detachments were to proceed to Montmédy, after the King's passage, with all possible expedition, except that at Pont-Somme-Ville, which was to stop at Sainte-Menehould for eighteen or twenty hours, on purpose to prevent any person, of whatever description, from proceeding during that time. M. de Bouillé was to take measures, during the same period, for preventing any intelligence from arriving at his camp; and by this means secure to the detachment at Sainte-Menehould a safe retreat to Montmédy.

"As the cross road from Varennes to Dun was bad, M. de Bouillé had the precaution to place a sufficient number of horses at the former, that the King, on his arrival, might find no difficulty or retardment to prevent his proceeding to Dun. Those horses belonged to M. de Choiseul, and were sent on the pretext of carrying his camp-equipage to Mouzon. When M. de Choiseul went to Paris to receive the King's orders, he had given directions to an officer of his regiment respecting those horses, which were to set out on the 17th of June, that they might be at Varennes on the 20th, and there remain till farther orders. This arrangement had been settled, on the supposition that the King would leave Paris on the 19th, as was at first intended: but a woman in the service of the Dauphin, and known to be a violent democrat, being to finish her weekly attendance on the 20th, it was thought prudent to defer the departure of the royal family till she should be out of the palace; of course they did not set out till the 20th, at midnight. M. de Bouillé was informed of this alteration by a letter from the King, which, however, he did not receive

before the 15th, in the evening, and immediately sent orders to the Royal regiment and that of Monsieur, both dragoons, to begin their march a day later than had been formerly directed, on purpose that they might be at Clermont only one day previous to the arrival of the royal family: but unfortunately the officer, entrusted with the direction of the horses, which were said to transport M. de Choiseul's camp equipage, neglected to give fresh orders to those who conducted them to Varennes, and of course they arrived at that town one day sooner than was intended. The prolongation of their stay created those suspicions which afterwards proved so fatal. Those horses were not placed where it had been agreed upon they should; and when those who were charged with the placing them arrived at Varennes, the suspicions which had arisen on their account had excited such a fermentation, that it would not have been prudent to have attempted any alteration."

The report of M. Boudet.

"The detachments arrived in precise time at the place of their destination. The hussars of the regiment of Lauzun came to St. Menehould on the 20th of June; the officer quartered them at the inn, but he neglected to give the usual information to the magistrates of the place relative to their route and quarters. This occasioned a good deal of surprise and speculation in the town, which were augmented by the arrival of a detachment of the Royal regiment of dragoons in the morning of the 21st. The impression which the conduct of the officer commanding the hussars left on the minds of the inhabitants, made them watch the dragoons with jealous eyes. They even attempted to take their arms from them.

"The King left the Tuileries on the 20th, at midnight. His carriage broke down near Chalons. That accident de-

tained him several hours. The royal family were expected at Pont-Somme-Ville about three o'clock in the afternoon of the 21st. Although M. de Choiseul and M. de Goguelat had calculated that they would arrive about that hour, it was certainly their duty to remain there all that day with the detachment of hussars, the instructions to whose commanding officers bore, that the convoy they were to escort would pass in the *course* of that day: nevertheless, when those two gentlemen saw no appearance of any courier, or of the arrival of the royal family, they left Pont-Somme-Ville at five o'clock in the evening, carrying the whole detachment from that important post, from whence the directions to all the others were to originate. It is to be hoped that those two officers had very strong reasons for conducting themselves in this manner, which however, have never been fully made known. It has been said, that what chiefly determined them was certain marks of inquietude and commotion which began to appear among the people in the country, the consequences of which they thought might prove dangerous to the King and royal family.

“Messrs. de Choiseul and Goguelat withdrew the troops from Pont-Somme-Ville at five o'clock in the evening, and their Majesties arrived there an hour after, finding neither the troops they expected, nor the two persons who had been entrusted with their instructions, who were to act as couriers, and to give orders, signals, and directions to the troops distributed at the different posts. Their Majesties, however, proceeded without any retardment to St. Menehould, while the detachment which had left Pont-Somme-Ville fell back to Varennes. By a fatality that seems to have invariably accompanied the King, the commanding officer of the detachment, not choosing to return to St. Menehould, where he had been ill received the day before, instead of keeping to the high road, by which means he would have joined the royal family, struck into a cross road,

where he lost his way, as also did the two persons entrusted with the King's orders: so that none of them reached Varennes until an hour after their Majesties had been arrested.

"The royal family had come to St. Meneshould without any preceding courier. When they stopped to change horses at the post-house, the commanding officer of the detachment of dragoons, supposing that those were the carriages which it was his duty to escort, ordered the soldiers to mount, that he might fulfil the object of his mission. He met with a decided opposition from the inhabitants, and the stables were occupied and guarded by the National Guard of the town.

"The King, not seeing those he expected, looked out of the carriage with the utmost uneasiness, and made many inquiries concerning the road. He was recognized by a postillion, who immediately ran and informed the postmaster. (J. B. Drouet.) The King's journey was not, however, stopped; he went on to Clermont, while the post-master of St. Meneshould dispatched his son to Varennes, to give notice of his Majesty's approach, that measures might be taken to stop him. The King changed horses again at Clermont, and was suffered peaceably to take the road to Varennes. M. de Damas, who commanded the royal dragoons and those of Monsieur, expected the arrival of the courier every moment, according to agreement, and he kept his troops in readiness, but had not been able to make any other preparations for the arrival of their Majesties. However, on being informed that two carriages, of which they gave him the description, had changed horses at the post-house, he had no doubt of their being those of the King and Queen. He immediately gave orders to his dragoons to mount. The district and municipality of the place were alarmed, and he was desired to give an account of this unexpected order. M. de Damas, without returning an answer, set spurs to his horse, ordering his dragoons to follow

him: but they, yielding to the threats and intreaties of the National Guard, basely deserted their commanding officer. M. de Damas pursued alone the road to Varennes, and arrived a few minutes after their Majesties.

“The son of the postmaster of St. Menehould got the start of the King by some hours. His departure from that town had been observed by one of the quarter-masters of the Royal regiment (Henri Lagache, afterwards a general under Napoleon), who was in the secret, and who, suspecting the young man’s intentions, found means to escape the watchful observations of the populace, and of his own companions, and pursued the fellow, in order to prevent his fatal design. He followed him for about a league: but being afraid to push his horse, which had a great way to go, he did not overtake him; and the fellow, perceiving himself pursued, suddenly quitted the high road, escaped into the woods, and through unbeaten tracks, known to himself, proceeded to Varennes. He arrived betwixt ten and eleven o’clock at night, and, with as little noise as possible, he awakened every person he thought necessary for his project, and barricaded with carts and wagons the bridge of Varennes, which separated the upper from the lower town.

“In the midst of these preparations their Majesties arrived at the upper town, and stopped at the first house, in hopes of finding fresh horses ready for them: but in this they were disappointed; the horses intended for them were still at an inn on the opposite side of the bridge. M. de Bouillé had sent his younger son and M. de Raigecourt to Varennes on the morning of the 21st, with orders to make the necessary preparations for the King’s arrival. They had not sufficient confidence in the officer who commanded the detachment at Varennes to trust him with the secret, but they desired him to hold his troops in readiness to escort a convoy. They anxiously expected the arrival of the courier, as their orders were

to make no preparation till he came. Besides, their very appearance in the town had created suspicions, and the fear of increasing them prevented their removing the horses from the town to the upper town, until they should receive notice of the King's arrival. The officer who commanded the detachment at Varennes had orders to escort a convoy which was of so much importance, that in case he perceived any disposition in the people to obstruct it, he was to order his troops to mount, make himself master of all the passages, and enforce the advancement of the convoy. But as none of these measures were executed, the postmaster had full time to make all his criminal arrangements, without encountering the least obstacle.

"Their Majesties were very uneasy on being informed, on their arrival, that there were no horses in readiness, and saw no appearance of the troops they expected for their protection. To add to their vexation, their postillions threatened to leave them. The Queen alighted, and called at several houses to obtain information respecting the horses. Nobody knew her. She walked for some time in the upper town with the King, in expectation that some person would appear who would give them the information they stood so much in need of, but all in vain. They were obliged to return to their carriage without the expected satisfaction; and all they could do was to intreat the postillions to proceed with the same horses. As they passed under an archway near the bridge a band of ruffians, who lay in wait, stopped the carriages, seized upon the King, and forced him and his family to alight, and they were conducted prisoners to the house of the law officer of the Municipality (Sauce). The King expostulated against this violence with equal firmness and dignity, but to no purpose. In a moment the streets were barricaded, the stables of the hussars surrounded, the National Guard drawn

up under arms, and the tocsin sounded to alarm the country. The young de Bouillé and M. Raigecourt, on hearing the tumult, hastened towards the residence of the commandant, but found the streets barricaded. They had time only to mount on horseback, to push through the armed crowds that opposed them, and to go with all possible expedition to inform General de Bouillé of what had happened.

“In less than an hour after the King was stopped, Messrs. de Choiseul and de Goguelat arrived at Varennes with the detachment from Pont-Somme-Ville. At the gates of the town they found some pieces of cannon and a party of the National Guard, who at first disputed their entrance. They desired to be made known to the sixty hussars in the town, who belonged to their regiment. M. Rodwell, who commanded those hussars, came to meet them alone. M. Boudet, the commanding officer of the detachment from Pont-Somme-Ville, informed him that the company which had been stopped was actually the King and the royal family, and ordered him to take every necessary measure for the defence and surety of their Majesties: but Rodwell, in place of obeying his commanding officer, immediately left Varennes, on pretence that he must go and inform M. de Bouillé of what had happened; and he left the command of this important post to one of the quarter-masters, who was extremely ill-affected to the King, as appeared by his keeping the hussars in total inaction.

“The detachment of Pont-Somme-Ville being the only troops well disposed to the King in the town, reached the house where the royal family were detained, which they found surrounded by a number of National Guard. M. de Goguelat, instead of attempting to disperse them by any orders to the detachment, addressed himself to the law officer, who still affected not to know who the people he detained were, desiring to be introduced to them. He was introduced accordingly, and

on his return assured the people that it was unquestionably the royal family. This information rendered the multitude more obstinate for detaining them.

“M. de Goguelat, wishing to ascertain whether the minds of the troops had not been corrupted by the town’s-people, during his absence, ordered them to make ready their arms, and then very inconsiderately asked whether they were for the King or the nation. They answered, ‘For the nation; we are and shall remain on its side.’

“This answer, which the surrounding crowd had inspired them with, plainly showed no assistance could be expected for his Majesty in this seditious town. M. de Goguelat therefore, seeming to adopt the prevailing sentiment, resolved quietly to wait the arrival of a sufficient force, to assist him in delivering their Majesties.

“While these events were passing at Varennes, M. de Bouillé was extremely uneasy at receiving no intelligence. He had passed the night on horseback betwixt Dun and Stenay. At last he rode to the highway which leads to Montmédy, that he might be at hand to give assistance, if necessary. He was at the gates of Stenay about four in the morning, when M. de Raigecourt, the Chevalier de Bouillé, and M. de Rodwell brought him the unwelcome news of the King being stopped. That instant, orders were given for the Royal Allemand Regiment to mount, but the horses were not saddled, although their commanding officer had received orders the preceding evening to hold himself in readiness by daybreak, and although it was known in the regiment that the King was to pass during the night. M. de Bouillé sent, at the same time, to Montmédy, an order to M. de Klinglin, to send one of the battalions of Nassau towards Dun, and to expedite orders to the Swiss regiment of Castellás, then on its march to Montmédy, to detach one of its battalions to Stenay, and there to attend his

farther orders. M. de Bouillé also sent orders to the detachments of Mouse and Dun to march with all diligence to Varennes, giving them to know that he would soon follow with the Royal German Regiment, and enjoining them, immediately upon their arrival, to use every means in their power for the deliverance of the royal family.

"M. de Bouillé waited till the regiment of *royal Allemand* was quite ready, and then put himself at its head; after which, that he might assure himself of its dispositions, he read the King's orders, informed the men of the occasion of this march, and distributed money amongst them. He found them extremely well disposed, and they followed him with an alacrity which promised success: but it was five o'clock in the morning when they set out."

Extract of M. d'Eslon's Report.

"M. d'Eslon, who commanded, at this time, the detachment of Dun, occupied, with his hussars, all the streets and avenues of that town. On being informed, by M. Rodwell, of the distressing situation of the royal family, he marched to Varennes with his troops, without waiting the general's orders, leaving twenty-four men and an officer at Dun, in order to secure a free passage through that town. He was only an hour and a half in going five leagues betwixt Dun and Varennes. He arrived before this last town at five o'clock in the morning. His project had been to begin the attack immediately, and to make his way by force to the King; but when he reached the town, he perceived the barricades, which forced him to renounce his plan. The advanced post of the National Guard required of M. d'Eslon to attend them to the Municipality, and explain the motives of his journey to Varennes. This he positively refused, and demanded entrance with his detachment, in order to join that which was in the town.

They answered, that his demand was contrary to the King's orders. M. d'Eslon being assured, by this answer, that the King was at Varennes, requested permission to pay his respects to his Majesty. This was agreed to by M. Seignemont, Commander of the National Guard and Chevalier de St. Louis, who promised him protection, and gave his word of honour that he should be allowed to speak to the King, without any witness. For the greater surety that this promise would be adhered to, M. d'Eslon exacted that an hostage should be delivered to his hussars. This was done. His scheme was to inform the King of the succours that were arrived and expected, and to observe whether it would be possible to force the barricades sword in hand. He found them so strong, particularly on the bridge, that he had no hopes of succeeding, unless he was joined by the hussars under the command of M. Boudet. Having arrived at the house in which the royal family were confined, he saw, to his astonishment, thirty hussars before it, commanded by an officer of the National Guard; and this certitude of their defection deprived him of all hopes of his detachment's being allowed to enter the town. After waiting half an hour, he was introduced to the King. Seignemont, contrary to the word he had pledged, entered with him. When M. d'Eslon reproached him in the presence of his Majesty, his only apology was, that the citizens would not allow that he should have any private conference with the King; yet he afterwards permitted M. d'Eslon to talk a little, in the corner of the room, with his Majesty, who was then informed of his real situation, and of the unsurmountable obstacles which the barricades, and the defection of some of the troops, formed to the zeal of M. d'Eslon. He was informed, at the same time, of the march of M. de Bouillé, at the head of the Royal German Regiment.

“The King seemed in such a state of confusion, that M.

d'Eslon repeated this information three times, from an apprehension that his Majesty had not heard what he had said. At last he begged to have his Majesty's orders for M. de Bouillé.

" 'You may acquaint him,' said the King, 'that I am a prisoner; that I doubt much whether he can do anything for me, but that I desire he may do what he can.'

" M. d'Eslon spoke also to the Queen: but as she stood very near to the Commander of the National Guard, he gave her the same information in German that he had given to the King. That unhappy Princess complained bitterly of her persecutors, and particularly that they would not permit her to proceed to Verdun, where she and the children could more commodiously repose themselves.

" The King desiring M. d'Eslon not to prolong the conversation in German, to prevent suspicion, he took leave of their Majesties, asking their orders aloud. The King replied,

" 'I am a prisoner, and have no orders to give.'

" M. d'Eslon having arrived at his detachment, sent a non-commissioned officer with an order to M. Boudet to attack those who confined the royal family, while he should force the barricades, and advance with his troops to their assistance. After a considerable interval, the non-commissioned officer returned, without having been able to speak to M. de Boudet, who, with his detachment, was blocked up in the convent and garden of the Cordeliers.

" In those circumstances, M. d'Eslon had no other resource but to wait for the arrival of the Royal Allemand Regiment: but he soon understood that the royal family, having been obliged to go into their carriages, were on the road to Paris, guarded by an armed multitude. He was joined by the Chevalier de Raigecourt, and they endeavoured to cross the river, in the intention of attacking the escort and delivering

the King. They actually passed the first branch, but found the second too deep; and seeing no possibility of succouring the royal family, they determined to join M. de Bouillé; which they did, about nine o'clock in the morning, near Varennes. Greatly shocked at the information they brought, he was still inclined to continue his march, and make a last attempt, but no person among the troops knew of any ford by which they could pass the river which separated them from the King. The horses were nearly exhausted with the long march they had already made, Stenay being more than five leagues from Varennes; besides, the King having set out about an hour and a half before, all pursuit seemed useless. There was therefore an absolute impossibility of delivering the royal family; and M. de Bouillé, overwhelmed with grief, marched back with his troops to Stenay."

Besides the above statement, M. de Bouillé drew up a particular account, explanatory of the failure of this plan, for protecting the royal family in their journey from Paris to Montmédy, for the information of their Majesties.

PRIVATE MEMOIRS OF

CHAPTER V.

The decree of accusation issued against Larivière intimidates his colleagues.—Madame de Lamotte's Memoirs are secretly burnt at Sèvres.—Consequences.—A band of ruffians, in the pay of the Jacobins, are employed to excite popular commotions.—The Assembly pass a decree for disbanding the King's Constitutional Guards; and on the same day, one of accusation against the Duc de Brissac.—The Ministers oblige the King to sanction the decree for disbanding the Guard.—My letter, advising his Majesty to refuse his sanction, arrives too late.

AFTER the decree of accusation against the Judge Larivière, none of his colleagues durst venture to continue the legal proceedings on my complaint and that of M. de Montmorin. But one principal object we had in view was accomplished, namely, to render the imposture of the Austrian Committee manifest to the public. This fable had been invented soon after the opening of the first Assembly, with a design to exasperate the people against the King, the Queen, and all their faithful servants. The Jacobins, enraged at being deprived of that ground of calumny, watched for an opportunity of reviving it, and for that purpose they made a handle of a piece of imprudence committed by one of the clerks of a public office.

M. de la Porte had purchased, by the King's orders, the whole edition of the Memoirs of the famous Madame de Lamotte,¹ so full of calumny against the Queen. He ordered

¹ Madame Jeanne de Lamotte was the famous adventuress who played the principal part in the affairs of the "Diamond Necklace," when she contrived to trick Cardinal de Rohan into believing that he was commissioned to buy the necklace on behalf of Queen Marie Antoinette. She was condemned by the Parlement in 1785 to branding and imprisonment for life, but was allowed to escape in

them to be burnt with all the precaution and secrecy possible. The clerk who received the order had the imprudence to confide the execution of it to one named Riston, an intriguing and seditious man, formerly an advocate at Nancy, who had committed several forgeries, and even fabricated the King's seal, for which he had been prosecuted, and I myself was employed in his cross-examination. On that occasion I ran considerable danger, not only from the populace, who, being convoked by his hand-bills, filled the Court, but also by the fury of the fellow himself, who attempted to assault me during the trial, and was with some difficulty prevented by the ushers. He was acquitted, in consequence of the new principles of patriotism then in vogue, but everybody was convinced of his guilt. This same Riston, finding himself entrusted with a commission which interested the King, and appeared of the more importance on account of the mysterious manner in which it was ordered to be executed, was less solicitous to perform it effectually, than to make an ostentatious display of the confidence that had been placed in him. On the 30th of May 1792, at ten o'clock in the morning, he ordered the *Memoirs* to be conveyed in a wagon, which he himself accompanied, to the china manufactory at Sèvres, where he caused a large fire to be made, and burnt the *Memoirs* in the presence of all the workmen of the manufactory, who were expressly forbid to approach the fire. His

June 1787. The book here alluded to was purchased by Louis XVI. and burnt in the Sevres foundries. A few copies were discovered in the Tuileries after the 10th August 1792 and from these, the book was published in Paris under the title of "*Vie de Jeanne de Saint Remy de Valois, Comtesse de Lamotte, écrite par elle-meme.*" Paris, (1792-93). This book, which contained libels of the foulest character on Marie Antoinette, was not written by Madame de Lamotte, and must not be confused with her own work, "*The Memoirs of the Comtesse de Valois de la Motte,*" published in French and English in London, 1788, a book quite as false as the second publication, but less obscene and perhaps less dull.

ostentatious precautions awakened curiosity, and gave rise to a thousand different conjectures. The fire kindled at Sèvres was immediately made use of to inflame the minds of the Parisian populace. That very day it was mentioned in the Assembly, that State papers had been carried from M. de la Porte's office, and burnt at Sèvres. Brissot and the Jacobin party insisted vehemently that the papers burnt with so much mystery were the registers and letters of correspondence of the very Austrian Committee, of whose existence they had so long endeavoured to convince the world.

M. de la Porte was summoned to the bar, and gave a faithful account of the affair as it stood. Riston was also called, who confirmed the deposition of M. de la Porte. But these explanations, satisfactory as they were, did not quiet the ferment which that affair had excited in the Assembly. The Girondins, who for some time had in view the dethronement, or abdication of the King, and the placing of the Prince Royal on the Throne, under a Regency composed of their own party, seized eagerly this opportunity to prepare and facilitate the accomplishment of their purpose.

The courage and fidelity of the Constitutional Guard, formed an obstacle to their plan which they wished to remove, although they could have opposed to those guards many thousand armed ruffians, besides a chosen band actually in the pay of the Jacobins.

Buob (the justice of peace before mentioned) gave me the following information on this head:

"The men, thus retained, received, at first, five livres a day: but as their numbers increased, their pay was reduced to forty sous. Deserters, and soldiers who had been turned out of their regiments, were chosen in preference to any others. Their number, in the beginning of March, was seven hundred and fifty, as appeared by an extract from the account of their

last payment. This band was commanded by a chevalier of St. Louis, to whom they were forced to take an oath of unlimited obedience on their admission. He himself received his orders from the secret committee of the Jacobins. This new corps mixed with the spectators in the galleries of the Assembly, at the clubs, in the meetings of the sections, and with the groups in the Palais Royal: but their principal service consisted in exciting and supporting popular tumults."

To pave the way to the King's dethronement or abdication, the Girondists wished to intimidate him by an insurrection of the populace against the Palace; and to render this effectual, they thought it necessary to obtain a decree of the Assembly for disbanding the Constitutional Guards. They made a handle of the fermentation occasioned by the scene at Sèvres, to assert that those guards were in a state of counter-revolution; that they had actually received from the King and Queen a white flag, to be used on some proper occasion; but which at present was concealed in a cavern under the Military School.

The place was searched, and no such flag found. Nothing was found that had any connection with the imaginary committee; yet a decree of accusation was on the point of being passed against all the officers of the King's Guard; but the apprehension of exciting the whole corps against the Assembly, restrained this; and the decree was confined to the brave and unfortunate Duc de Brissac,² who was next day conducted

² Louis Hercule Cosse, Duke de Brissac, was appointed by Louis XVI. Commandant of his Constitutional Guard in 1791. The zeal and energy which he showed in enlisting trustworthy men, if possible royalists, to serve in this corps, drew upon him the enmity of the Legislative Assembly, which was by no means ignorant of the possibility of the invasion of the Tuileries by mobs. A Decree of Accusation of Treason was passed against him, in consequence of which he was sent to be tried before the High Court of Orleans. A second Decree ordered the disbandment of the Guard.

With the other Orleans prisoners he was conducted towards

to the prison at Orleans, and afterwards massacred with the other prisoners.

The King was perfectly sensible, that the motive of the decree for disbanding his Guard, was no other than to deprive him of the protection of those brave men whom it was well known would defend his life at the hazard of their own. He was extremely agitated; and the morning after the decree passed, he sent for his Ministers at an early hour, and communicated a letter to them, which he intended to send to the Assembly, announcing his refusal to sanction the decree: but they all refused to countersign his letter; and consequently it could not be sent. His Majesty then proposed to go in person to the Assembly, and pronounce a discourse, in which he would give his reasons for not sanctioning the decree; but

Paris, in September 1792 by an escort of National Guards under Fourier l'Americain (see note on the September Massacres.) The carts containing the prisoners, all of whom were ironed, reached Versailles on the 9th September.

They were met by a band of assassins sent from Paris, who closed the gates of the Orangery upon the carts, leaving the National Guard, who were probably acquainted with the whole scheme, in the street or lane leading to the Orangery.

"The Killers" then began their work. In reply to the entreaties of the victims, they shouted, "Show us which is Brissac and we will let you go." They soon found the Duke, and having killed him, turned to the others, whom they slew at their leisure. One of these assassins named Perin was so pleased with his work that he left it for a few moments to fetch his wife, who came "joyously" just in time to assassinate M. de Castillane, Bishop of Mende. While engaged in organizing the King's Guard, de Brissac had said, "My post is at the gate of the King's palace." The words were remembered, and after being carried on a pike through a silent stupor-stricken crowd in Paris, his head was placed on the topmost spike of the gate of the Tuileries. The skull was afterwards made into a cup.

Other portions of the body, which underwent an extraordinary amount of mutilation, were offered as a "patriotic" gift to the Electoral Assembly of Saint Germain, then engaged in the elections to the Convention, and who needed to be sufficiently intimidated to ensure the election of pure patriots.

all the Ministers refused to attend him to the Assembly: they even carried their baseness or perfidy the length of asserting, that every man of the guard would be massacred by the people if they were not immediately disbanded, and that every individual in the palace would be endangered by his Majesty's deferring to sanction the decree. In short, the unhappy Prince, without taking time to reflect, consented to sanction that fatal decree.

An hour after having signed his sanction, he received my letter: in which, not knowing what had passed, I strongly urged the necessity of his forcing the Assembly to adhere to the Constitution; which, in allowing the King to have a guard of 1800 men, had not given the legislative body any authority over it; reminding him that it was to the King alone that all complaints ought to be carried or addressed against the Guard in general; and that the authority of the Assembly was limited to receiving complaints, and to issuing decrees of accusation against any individual of that Guard who might give grounds for them; and who would of course be tried by the proper courts.

Before I received the King's answer, I heard, with equal regret and surprise, that the decree was already sanctioned; and that the Duc de Brissac had been sent as a prisoner to Orleans. He had resisted the earnest entreaties of his family and friends, who suggested to him the means of escape, and thought he could have no security for his life but by flight.

I received the King's answer that evening; it was written with his own hand on the margin of my letter, which was our established form of correspondence. With every letter I wrote, I sent him back that which I received from him the day before, only taking notes from it; so that his letters never remained twenty-four hours in my hands. I proposed this method to the King, to prevent his having any uneasiness

about his letters. Mine were delivered to the King or Queen, and their answers brought to me by one of the Captains of the Guard, whose zeal and attachment were known to them.

It would have been imputed to their Majesties as a crime to carry on any kind of correspondence at this time with me; I judged it highly improper therefore to subject them to the least risk or uneasiness by keeping even copies of the letters which passed on this occasion. Independent of this consideration, it is to be regretted that I did not keep copies of them all, because they would have testified his scrupulous fidelity to the Constitution, his affection for his people, and the absolute falsehood of the various calumnies invented for the basest purposes against both him and the Queen. M. Malouet is the only person now alive who saw the originals of the greatest part of those letters by the King's permission: that gentleman can attest the truth of what I have now said. As I retained notes which could not be understood by those into whose hands I was afraid of the originals falling, I am enabled to subjoin his Majesty's answer to my letter respecting the disbanding of the Guard, which was in the following terms:

"Unfortunately it is no longer time to do as you propose: the Ministers assured me, that the ferment of the people is so violent, that the sanction of the decree could not be deferred without exposing the Guard, and every person in the palace, to the greatest danger. I gave this sanction much against my will; but the evil cannot be remedied."

No remedy indeed remained after the decree was sanctioned; and I was the more distressed at what had happened, as in spite of the defection of the Ministers on this occasion, I was convinced that great advantage might have been taken of the Assembly, could the King have been prevailed upon to have

acted with energy; and my letter might have had some weight with him, had he received it before he sanctioned the decree.

My intention was to propose to his Majesty to go to the Assembly, accompanied by six principal officers of his Guard, and a hundred guards on horseback; part of whom would have remained at the entrance, by the gate of the Feuillans, and part at the *Place de Vendome*, while the remainder would have gone by the quay to the *Place de Louis XV*. I would have proposed to his Majesty to announce his intention of going to the Assembly only a quarter of an hour before he went; and, that on his arrival, he should pronounce the following discourse:

“Gentlemen, we have all taken an oath to the Constitution; by yours, you are bound to infringe it in no point; and mine obliges me to maintain it by all the power which the Constitution has delegated into my hands. I come here in the execution of that duty to state to yourselves the irregularity of that decree by which my Constitutional Guard are ordered to be disbanded on account of certain accusations, which, however serious in themselves, and however well-founded, can only incriminate a few individuals. That decree is directly in contradiction to the spirit of the Constitution, which has ordered and regulated that Guard. This article of the Constitution is equally binding with all the others: they were all, without exception, adopted by yourselves, and consecrated by the oath of the majority of the nation; and that oath, you as well as I have sworn to adhere to inviolably. By this solemn engagement, it is my duty to declare to you, that I never can sanction the decree for disbanded my Guard; and it is your part to repair your error by a speedy revocation; for, if you adhere to that decree, you usurp a power which you have not received from the Con-

stitution, and thereby make your own opinion prevail over that of the nation; in which case you can no longer be regarded as its representatives.

“If there is just cause of complaint against any of the officers or soldiers which the Constitution has attached to my person, you are authorized to issue a decree of accusation against them; but that decree cannot extend farther. Hasten then to return within the limits of your legal power, which I am so far from intending to circumscribe, that to secure to you the full exercise of it, even at this moment, and to prevent any criminal from escaping, I have ordered all my guards to be assembled, and so to remain until you give orders to apprehend for trial every individual among them, against whom you have any proofs.”

Previous to his Majesty's going to the Assembly, I should have taken care to have filled the galleries with a considerable number of the friends of the Constitution, to applaud the King's discourse, and to repress, by marks of disapprobation, every contrary motion. Numerous placards pasted up the preceding day; hand-bills distributed in profusion; intelligent emissaries mixing in the groups, coffee-houses, and public walks, should have prepared the minds of the people for this measure, by representing the decree for disbanding the Constitutional Guard in its true colours, namely, as a violent infringement of the Constitution, and an usurpation of the lawful right of his Majesty.

It would have been prudent, at the same time, to have ordered the three thousand Swiss, who were then at Courbevoye, to advance to the heights of Passy, under pretence of being reviewed. This corps, with their brethren, at that time on duty in the Tuileries, and the Constitutional Guards, commanded by such a brave and intelligent officer as M. d'Hervilly, would have composed, in case of need, a sufficient force to

suppress any insurrection which the Jacobins might have raised.

I very inconsiderately communicated the above plan to the King, of which I afterwards repented, as it could only serve to augment his regret for having sanctioned the decree. This unfortunate Monarch was already so much to be pitied, that it was barbarous not to spare him whatever tended uselessly to aggravate his uneasiness. The answer which he wrote, as usual, on the margin of my letter, made me sensible of my indiscretion: it was as follows:

“You know, I cannot undo what is done; my soul is full of sorrow. What can I do, surrounded as I am, and with no person near me in whom I can trust?”

This sad truth was confirmed by the fatal consequences of the disbanding the Guard, which renewed with bitterness the King's regret for having so precipitately gone into the sanction of that decree. But by a fatality which seemed attached to him, and which was always most remarkable on the most critical occasions, those measures which required the greatest deliberation, and on which he ought to have consulted the persons most worthy of his confidence, were sometimes those which he adopted most hastily; whereas, on measures whose success depended on celerity, he often deliberated until his adopting them became useless, and even hurtful.

PRIVATE MEMOIRS OF

CHAPTER VI.

The Decrees against the nonjuring priests, and for forming a camp in the neighbourhood of Paris.—Division in the cabinet on that occasion.—Dumouriez prevails on the King to dismiss three of his Ministers.—Miaczenski.—The King prevents a pamphlet from being published against Dumouriez.—Fabrication of assignats in the prison.—Important discoveries respecting the troubles in St. Domingo.—The Mulatto Raymond.—Resignation of Dumouriez.—A singular letter from him to M. de Larofiere.

THE Assembly, whose usurpations increased in proportion as the King's powers of resistance were weakened, passed two most atrocious decrees in the beginning of June 1792. The first was for the banishment of the priests¹ who had refused

¹ All students of the Revolution are agreed that the "Civil Constitution of the Clergy" was one of the greatest mistakes committed by the Constituent Assembly. It was in the main the work of a few Jansenists, supported by Atheists, Voltairians and haters of the Church, who eagerly seized the opportunity of dividing the comparatively small numbers of believers into two hostile camps, as a first step towards extinguishing them together. The Constitution of the Clergy practically abolished the Papal jurisdiction, reducing the Pope to the level of the Constitutional King.

It ordained that all posts in the Hierarchy from Bishops to Cures should be elected not by Catholics, but by the People of each Department or Commune, irrespective of their religious or irreligious profession, and in this and many other ways it subjected the whole organization of the Church to the State.

On the 10th July 1790, the Pope denounced the new clerical Constitution and declared that all who accepted it were schismatics. After long delay, the King most unwillingly signed the Constitution of the Clergy and it became law. Louis XVI. was one of the few men of his time who was a sincere Christian and Roman Catholic. There was no act of his reign which he regretted so bitterly. In his will he alluded to his "deep repentance for having signed my name, although against my will, to acts contrary to the discipline

to take the oath; and the second was for the formation of a camp of twenty thousand men in the environs of Paris, to consist of volunteers from every department of the Kingdom. It was very well known, that those volunteers would everywhere be chosen by the Jacobins, whose power was universally felt, and had impressed such general terror as gave them complete sway in every election; so that this army must of course have been made up of their creatures, the most seditious and desperate villains in the Kingdom. The motive given for this decree, was the safety of the capital. Upon that pretence, Servan, the Minister, in connivance with the Girondins, with-

and belief of the Catholic Church to which my heart has ever been sincerely attached." When the Constitution had passed into law, all the clergy were called upon to take the "Civil Oath," giving their assent to the new Constitution. Five Bishops only (including Lomenie de Brienne and Talleyrand) and a small proportion of the clergy consented to take this oath. Those who did consent were constituted into the "Constitutional Church," while the great majority were deprived of their benefices. From the first the Constitutional Bishops and Clergy failed to secure either consideration or respect. Those who cared at all for religion or theology considered them as schismatics; those who cared for none of these things naturally scouted alike both orthodox and Constitutional. The fatal mistake of the measure was that it gratuitously drove the great majority of the Clergy, the Cures who had been hitherto completely in sympathy with the Revolution, into an unnecessary enmity towards it. Then followed one of the bitterest and most cruel persecutions to which any class of men have ever been subjected, with the result, which so often follows persecution, of re-converting the great mass of the French nation to the Roman Catholic Church, which I need hardly say was re-established and re-endowed by the Concordat of the 15th July 1801.

Two Decrees relating to the "Unsworn Clergy" were passed by the Legislative Assembly, both subjecting those who had not taken the "Civic Oath" to surveillance, imprisonment or banishment.

The first of these was passed by the Assembly, on the 29th November 1791, the second on the 27th May 1792. Louis XVI. vetoed both Decrees, and his second veto on the 19th June was followed on the next day by the first invasion of the Tuileries by the Paris mob.

out an order from the King, or without communicating his intentions to his colleagues, proposed the measure in a letter to the President of the Assembly. His real view was to secure a sufficient force against the Royalists who remained in Paris, and that portion of the National Guard who were known to be attached to the King and to the Constitution, which the Jacobins, as was now evident, intended to overturn.

The King showed the utmost repugnance to sanction either of these decrees, in spite of the threatening intimations he daily received from his Ministers Roland, Clavière, and Servan.

At that time a quarrel subsisted betwixt these Ministers and their colleagues, who, Jacobins as they were, seemed touched with the King's misfortunes, and always behaved to him with respect. They were shocked with the conduct of Roland, Clavière, and Servan, and determined to take this opportunity to get them dismissed. Dumouriez, with the approbation of his colleagues Duranthon and La Coste, undertook to propose three new Ministers to the King. His Majesty accepted the proposal with the joy of a person who feels himself suddenly relieved from a heavy load under which he was ready to sink. Soon after the measure was determined on, I was informed of it by a letter from the King, in answer to one I had written the day before, in which I begged to receive his orders respecting a virulent pamphlet against Dumouriez, which the author would not publish without his Majesty's consent. In the margin of my letter, the King wrote the following words:

“Prevent any thing from being published against Dumouriez, who conducts himself well at this moment; and has helped to free me from three Ministers, who endeavoured to force me to sanction the two decrees.”

I had had a very extraordinary conversation, two days

before, with a Polish nobleman, *Maréchal de Camp*² in the French service, an intimate friend of Dumouriez, and at that time employed in the northern army; his name was *Miaczynski*.³ This officer, with whom I was till then wholly unacquainted, sent a certain person to request a meeting with me betwixt eleven and twelve o'clock at night, as he wished to talk upon subjects of the utmost importance.

It was near midnight when he entered my house: he began by apologising for having kept me waiting; but said, that being positively informed that my house was watched, he had walked three-quarters of an hour in the street, and did not stop at my door until he was certain of not being observed. He then asked, with an air of inquietude, if my closet did

² The rank of "*Maréchal de Camp*" is stated in the "*Almanach Royal*" to have been founded by Henry IV., but apparently it dates back to the fifteenth century. The duties appear to have been originally somewhat similar to those of a Quartermaster-General in the armies of to-day. In the Army Lists of the eighteenth century, the *Marechaux-de-Camp* were placed between Lieutenant-Generals and Colonels in command of regiments, which would make their rank equivalent to that of a Major-General of the present time.

In 1789, there were 768 *Marechaux-de-Camp*. The grade was suppressed in 1793.

³ General Joseph *Miaczynski*, a Pole, who had seen some service in the desultory fighting which preceded the Second Partition of Poland, came to France in 1792 and was granted the rank of "*Maréchal de Camp*."

He served in 1792-93 in Dumouriez' campaign in the Netherlands, with varying success. On the 31st March, when Dumouriez finally decided to revolt against the Convention, he sent *Miaczynski* at the head of a division of his army, to occupy Lille. *Miaczynski* was rash enough to inform the mulatto Colonel, Saint Georges, who commanded a regiment of cavalry garrisoned in Lille, of his mission. Saint Georges invited him to enter the town with a small escort, and on his arrival arrested and sent him to Paris, where he was tried by the Revolutionary Tribunal and guillotined on the 25th May 1793.

not communicate with any other apartment from which our conversation might be heard; and, after I had made him easy on that point, he laid open the important secret. I heard everything he had to say without interruption, because I remarked a certain expression of low cunning in his countenance, which prejudiced me against him, and put me on my guard. I suspected this man to be a spy of Dumouriez's, or an agent of the Committee of Research. He began by talking to me of his birth and fortune; of the motives which attached him to the French service, and of a very serious contest he had had with M. de Vergennes, of which he had published a long and circumstantial account. He laid that publication on my table, after having read some passages of it to me, in order to convince me that he was neither an adventurer, nor a person to be at all suspected.

"I have the honour of being related to the Queen," added he, "to which I owe my advancement in the service. Assuredly their Majesties have not a more faithful or zealous servant than myself: it was only with a view of being useful to them that I remained in France, that I have sought to be employed in the army, deceived that knave Dumouriez, have passed myself off on him as his friend, and obtained his whole confidence; for there was no other means of watching him narrowly. He is more dangerous than can be imagined by persons unacquainted with his ambition and want of principle. Every morning I spend an hour or two *tête-à-tête* with him: he is extremely talkative; he conceals nothing from me; and, if you have any curiosity, I can give you a regular account of his plans, his projects, and all his secrets."

"I know not any purpose that would answer, sir," said I; "and, as it is what I have no concern in, I have not the least curiosity to know: but are not you going soon to join the army?"

"Yes, sir; and that is the subject on which I wished to talk with you; because it is an occasion in which I can render the King an important service. I am to command the vanguard; and, as I know the country better than any of the general officers, they place great confidence in me. I am certain they will not hesitate to make the army take whatever position I shall point out. There is one position which seems very safe and advantageous; in which, nevertheless, by informing the general of the enemy, I may be attacked in such a manner, that the vanguard must be cut in pieces; the consequences of which, you will readily believe, will be, that the whole army must, of necessity, be either killed on the spot, or made prisoners."

"You will arrange matters, I hope," said I, "in such a manner, that you yourself will be in the latter predicament."

"Unquestionably, sir!" answered he.

"Have you no kind of doubt of the complete success of this complicated operation?"

"Not the least," answered he; "and you can have no doubt of the confusion which so unexpected a defeat must make at Paris. It would at once produce the ruin, perhaps the massacre, of all the Jacobins, and of the National Assembly, and create such a detestation of the new Constitution as will soon bring back to the King his ancient authority. There is but one small difficulty," continued he; "you know that all discipline and subordination is destroyed in the army: there is no means of securing the obedience of the soldiers, but by gaining their affections by regaling them with brandy and wine. This method I did not neglect as long as I had the means; but now my money is exhausted, and I cannot continue it, so as to retain the confidence of the soldiery, to that degree that is requisite for so decisive a measure, without the sum of about 200,000 livres, which I am persuaded the King

will readily advance, provided you will lay my plan before him, and support it by your credit."

"I should be very sorry, sir," said I, "to propose such a scheme to his Majesty, as I know it would be the means of losing his confidence forever. How is it possible, that, knowing the King's character, you could imagine that such a project could be agreeable to him? and I am no less astonished at your choosing me, who have not the honour of being acquainted with you, for your confidant on such an occasion."

"I addressed myself to you, sir, as being, of all the former Ministers, the most sincerely attached to the King, and the most capable of appreciating the service I wish to render him; the importance of which, perhaps, upon mature consideration, you will come to be more sensible of."

"It requires no consideration at all," answered I. "Reflection could only serve to confirm me in my opinion. I am inclined to believe in the sincerity of your professions of attachment to the King; you may therefore rely on my prudence. I shall endeavour to forget the project which you have revealed to me; I advise you to do the same, and, above all, never to mention it to another person on earth."

The next day I acquainted his Majesty with this conversation. He approved of the manner in which I had received Miaczenski's proposal; and added, that he knew him to be a worthless fellow, and was convinced that his sole object was to obtain money.

I should never have done, were I to relate all the singular visits which my known attachment to the King at this time procured me. I was aware, that under colour of zeal for his Majesty, many proposals were made to me for the purpose of discovering if I still interfered in his affairs, what my intentions were, and if I had the disposal of any part of the civil list. Fortunately I had acquired the habit of regarding

every proposal as a snare, and I adopted only such as I thought advantageous for his Majesty; and even these with such precautions, that whatever might happen, I risked nothing. Of this I shall only give one instance. The Chevalier de Langle,⁴ a gentleman of Brittany, whose family I had known while in that province, one day presented himself before me in a state of the utmost wretchedness. He had just got out of the prison *de la Force*, where he had been six months confined, through the mistake, as he said, of the police. However, he did not by any means make that clearly out, in the account he gave me of the affair. He had to speak to me, he said, on a subject of the utmost importance, but first begged that I would order him something to eat, as he was ready to die of hunger. He afterwards talked to me of his literary talents, and, as a specimen, he offered me a copy of his travels through Spain. He next read to me the two first pages of a journal which he intended publishing, entitled, *Postillon de la Guerre*. It was tolerably well writ-

⁴ Jean Marie Fleuriot, known as the Chevalier, or the Marquis de Langle, the latter a title which he borrowed from another branch of his family and bestowed upon himself, was a literary adventurer of a type common enough in the eighteenth century, and perhaps not altogether extinct to-day. In 1785, he published anonymously a book entitled "*Figaro's Voyage in Spain*." Langle had never himself been in Spain, but his imagination was quite equal to the occasion. The book had the good fortune to be denounced by the Spanish Ambassador and to be ordered by the Parlement of Paris to be burnt 15th February 1786. Consequently it enjoyed a considerable circulation and was translated into English, Danish, German and Italian.

A few years later Langle reproduced the same book, under his own name, and the title "*Picturesque Pictures of Switzerland*," Paris, 1790. The transformation was effected by the simple device of altering all the place names, Madrid becoming Berne, and so on throughout. This is but one of a dozen literary frauds, black-mailing schemes and fake advertisements by which this impecunious but ingenious writer managed to keep himself clothed and fed until death relieved him from the necessity, in October 1807.

ten, and in favour of constitutional royalty. I did not hesitate to advance him three hundred livres which he required for the expense of the first impression.

He informed me, that while he was in prison he had seen several thousand false assignats fabricated by the prisoners, who sold them, at a very low price, to persons who came to see them; that the Commissaries of the Municipality, who visited the prisons once a week, always seized on all the assignats they could discover, but that they never made the least search after the instruments used in making them.

Convinced, as I was, that forged assignats were the principal resource of the Jacobins for the immense expense which their schemes required, I said to the chevalier, that it would be an act of patriotism, greatly for his interest, to publish the account he had just given me, in the form of a petition, addressed to the National Assembly; and that he might claim the reward promised to every one who denounced false assignats. The instances mentioned, of considerable gratifications granted on such occasions, at once determined him to follow my advice; and he gave in his petition next day: but the Committee to which it was referred being, without doubt, apprehensive of its producing the effect I hoped for, would not report it, and prevented the chevalier from obtaining permission to speak during a fortnight that he daily presented himself at the bar of the Assembly. I advised him to publish the petition, addressed to the members of the Assembly, under the title of a plot against the nation. He was the more inclined to follow this advice, as I enforced it by an assignat of two hundred livres, given in advance for the expense of the impression. He promised to repay me both sums out of the reward he had a right to expect from the Assembly. Whether he ever received any I know not. What I do know is, that he never paid me. There assuredly never

existed a more indefatigable walker than this chevalier. Every morning, as soon as his paper was drawn up, he went over the town, the suburbs, through all the public walks, into the clubs and coffee-houses, and was the first to give me an account of every interesting occurrence; and on comparing his reports with those I received from my other agents, I usually found them exact.

One day, in conversing with me on the troubles of St. Domingo, he entered into details, of which I should never have conceived him to have any knowledge. On my expressing some surprise, he told me, that nobody had a better opportunity than himself of being informed of every circumstance relating to that colony, as he was intimately acquainted with the mistress of the mulatto Raymond, who was agent of the mulattoes of St. Domingo; that this man had the greatest confidence in her, and allowed her to read all his papers; that of course she knew every particular of his correspondence with Domingo, all which she divulged to de Langle, being dissatisfied with Raymond for not paying her as liberally as she expected.

This intelligence was the more interesting, as the troubles of the colonies had been excited, and were at this time kept up by the manœuvres of a party known by the name of The Friends of the Blacks, at the head of which were Brissot and Condorcet. It was also known that a considerable contribution had been raised from the richest mulattoes of St. Domingo, and sent to Paris: but the precise manner in which this money had been employed had never been ascertained; and I hoped that this correspondence would throw light upon the subject, and furnish powerful arms against the King's most dangerous enemies. That consideration alone was sufficient to make me ardently desire, at any rate, to get possession of papers of such importance: but before I expressed this desire to the

Chevalier de Langle, I wished to be more clearly informed of the particulars of the correspondence; and I commissioned him to use all his address to engage Raymond's mistress to examine anew these papers the first convenient opportunity, and to read those of the oldest date with such attention as would enable her to repeat the heads of what they contained.

This commission was fulfilled in a few days, with all the intelligence I could desire. The chevalier read me a note of the woman's dictating, by which it appeared, that the first parcel contained minutes of instructions and plans sent to St. Domingo in the year 1790 and 1791, for the purpose of exciting, conducting, and supporting the insurrection of the negroes; and also copies of printed pamphlets and hand-bills, which were to be distributed in the colony.

The second parcel contained the draught of a plan, and the register of a contribution to be raised upon the mulattoes of St. Domingo, the sum total of which amounted to above seven millions of livres. To these papers was joined a memorial respecting the manner in which the money was to be employed. A great part of it was to be sent to Paris, to reward the past, and purchase new services of several members of the Assembly and of the Jacobin clubs, to pay lawyers, writers of pamphlets, and journalists, to defray the expense of printing placards, &c.

The third contained a great number of original letters, addressed to Raymond by his correspondents of St. Domingo, and notes of his answers. One of the letters announced, that nearly a million had been sent to Paris, which awaited more. And it appeared, by one of his letters, that Brissot had been entrusted with the sum of 300,000 livres; Condorcet with 150,000; the Abbé Gregoire 80,000; and Pétion 60,000: but Robespierre would accept of no money, either for the purpose

of distribution or gratification, although he served the cause with equal zeal.

The lady had not had time to read more: but this was sufficient to augment my eagerness to have the correspondence in my own hands; and I asked the chevalier if it would be possible to procure me these papers for eight days, upon pretence that a person, who was writing a history of the troubles in St. Domingo, desired to see them. He said he was sure the lady would be prevailed upon, by my sending her the sum of a hundred louis, which she had the most pressing occasion for at that time. I was afraid that the giving such a sum would raise suspicions in her mind detrimental to the success of the negotiation; I therefore desired the chevalier to let her know I would not *give* her so much, but since she was in temporary difficulties, I would venture to *lend* her a thousand crowns, which should be put into her hand at the same time that she delivered up the papers to the person I should send to examine and receive them. She eagerly accepted my offer, and sent me word, that she hoped the affair would be concluded by the end of the week. I had also promised a thousand livres to the Chevalier de Langle if he succeeded in his negotiation; and he had already received part of it. Unluckily, before the lady could find an opportunity of taking the papers out of Raymond's closet, he set off for Auteuil, in the intention of passing the summer there. She flattered herself that she should persuade him to return, and have it in her power to fulfil our agreement; and the chevalier, to whom I had by this time paid up the whole sum, kept me in the same hopes: but the catastrophe of the 10th of August prevented their being ever realised.

It is impossible to describe the chagrin I felt at the unlucky issue of a scheme, the success of which might have

been of so much consequence to the King, in the unhappy situation he then was.

Two days after the dismissal of Roland, Clavière, and Servan, Dumouriez perceived that their friends attributed the disgrace of these three Ministers entirely to him; that this idea alienated the majority of the Assembly from him and from the Jacobins; he therefore determined to sacrifice every appearance of consistency, and all consideration for the feelings of his sovereign, in order to regain his popularity. He must have been very sensible that the King never would sanction the decrees respecting the camp and the priests, particularly that which regarded the latter; and although, so far from combating his Majesty's repugnance, he had supported him in it, and instigated the dismissal of the three Ministers who were for passing those decrees, he now had the baseness and effrontery to propose to his Majesty either to sanction these very decrees, or receive his resignation. He added, that from the bad effect which the dismissal of the Ministers had produced, his services would be more prejudicial than useful, if these decrees were not passed. It was in vain that his Majesty remonstrated against this unbecoming conduct. Dumouriez persisted, and his resignation was accepted.

I received a letter from the King on this occasion, in which he says,

"Only conceive the strange inconsistency of this man; after having persuaded me to dismiss those three Ministers, because they insisted on my sanctioning the decrees, he now abandons me for persisting in the measure which *he* himself urged."

This observation was certainly very just; but it is still more inconceivable, that in spite of the notoriety of the above facts, Dumouriez has had the assurance to advance, in his Memoirs,

that at the time of the dismissal of the three Ministers, the King had solemnly promised to him to sanction the decree; and that he had given in his resignation for no other reason but because the King changed his mind two days after, and refused to fulfil his promise.

It may seem extraordinary that a man, who is so unfaithful in relating what is past, should have come near to truth in indicating what was to come. Of this there is an instance in a letter which he wrote to M. de Larosiere, dated 16th December 1789. I copied the following extract from the original, and now give it as a curiosity to the public:

“Cherbourg, Dec. 1789.

“Your son-in-law told me of your adventure at Rennes. As I have always found you more of an aristocrat than myself, but particularly in our last conversation with M. de Montmorin, I was apprehensive for your safety in the present circumstances, but am glad to hear that you have so happily extricated yourself.

“Remain peaceably at your estate till spring; then I fear you will have occasion to exert your military talents against foreigners. Our liberty will be attacked by a coalition of Kings, and the courtiers will form a light squadron, prancing backwards and forwards between the parties. It is then that men like ourselves, distinguished for conduct and talents, will become chiefs of the nation, to defend its freedom. The King himself is with us, and will not abandon the good cause. Every step we take in support of liberty will be considered as legal.

“My old friend, never lose sight of this, lest you be led astray. The Revolution is already accomplished, by means, perhaps, reprehensible, if we still adhere to the prejudices which existed two years ago: but now we are free, although,

perhaps, at the expense of our repose. Your children will be happier than you. Impress that idea on their minds. Render them proud of their liberty. Render them capable of supporting your reputation under more propitious auspices; for we were slaves, and enjoy, by anticipation, their approaching happiness and glory.

“These, my friend, are the new sentiments to which we must adhere. Should I find them to deaden in the breasts of my countrymen, I would be the first to revive them. This patriotic enthusiasm is far from extinguishing in me the mild sensations which form my felicity. Friendship is the sentiment dearest to my heart; and under that revered title I salute you very cordially. My respects to Madame Larosiere. Assure your children that you have in me a sincere friend.

“DUMOURIEZ.”

LOUIS THE SIXTEENTH.

CHAPTER VII.

The real motive for the two Decrees.—A secretary of Condorcet's pays a visit to M. de Lessart in prison.—M. de Lessart writes an account of this to me.—I send his letter to the King.—Petitions against one of the Decrees.—The attempt of the 20th of June.—Proclamation.—The good effect it produces.—Decree of the Department suspending Petion.—The King forced to pronounce on that Decree, and to confirm it.—The Assembly repeals it.—The King's fatal forebodings.—An interesting conversation with him upon the 20th of June.—Plan which I proposed to his Majesty.—His motives for not adopting it.

I ALWAYS thought that the decrees concerning the priests, and for the camp of 20,000 men, were issued in the hopes that the King would refuse his sanction, and that this refusal would naturally lead to an insurrection. The Girondins flattered themselves by this means to hasten the execution of their plan against the King and the Monarchy. A remarkable letter I received from M. de Lessart, some days before those decrees were issued, and which I had communicated to the King, confirmed me in that opinion. It was in substance as follows:

“That a person, who had been under great obligations to M. de Lessart before the Revolution, and who was then secretary to Condorcet, passing through Orleans, had gone to the prison to visit his benefactor, and had a conversation of two hours with him; that in the course of this conversation, M. de Lessart having questioned him concerning the projects of the Jacobins, the man, either from motives of gratitude, or from the idea that he had nothing to fear from the indiscretion of a prisoner, whose trial would probably draw

to a great length, immediately gave an account of all he knew, on promise of secrecy. This secretary told him, that the present object of the secret committee of Jacobins was to form a plan of insurrection for attacking the Tuileries, of the same kind with that of the 5th of October 1789, at Versailles, with a view to push the King to abdicate the Crown, or to take to flight; that in either of these cases they would name a Council of Regency, composed of the principal chiefs of the Jacobins; that if the King escaped this first insurrection, without either abdicating or leaving the Kingdom, it was their determination to find some pretext for exciting a fresh insurrection, with a view to terrifying the National Assembly, and forcing them to pronounce his dethronement, and afterwards to pronounce the Prince, King, with a Council of Regency; all of which was to pave the way to what was the great and ultimate object of the Girondists, namely, to establish a Republic, which they thought the nation was not prepared for at the present moment, but were in hopes that it would gradually be brought to relish that form of government, and at last be brought to adopt it without a struggle."

I communicated this letter to the King, and burnt it as soon as he returned it to me, according to M. de Lessart's express desire. His Majesty wrote to me, in answer, that such might be the scheme of the Jacobins: but all that he could do was to endeavour to evade their machinations, by remaining faithful to the Constitution.

At this time the leaders of the Gironde party had great influence with the Jacobins: but they abandoned that society, on account of its violence, soon after. On the 10th of August 1792, they intended the execution of this plan only, but they were forced into a Republic, long before the time when they judged it would be expedient, by Danton, Robespierre, Collot d'Herbois, &c.

The opinion manifested in the Capital, upon the dismissal of the three Ministers, was calculated to put an end to all inquietude respecting the refusal of the sanction. A silence was maintained upon the decree against the priests, but two petitions were addressed to the King and the Assembly, for the revocation of that for the camp of 20,000 men. This Decree had greatly alarmed the citizens, and was considered by the National Guard as an insult on their fidelity and courage. One of these petitions was signed by twenty thousand, the other by eight thousand citizens, a great part of whom were connected with the National Guard. The Jacobins were sensible how much this coalition might injure them, if they allowed it to become more formidable; they therefore hastened to prevent its consequences, by immediately bringing forward the plan alluded to in M. de Lessart's letter, which was put in execution by the famous insurrection of the 20th of June,¹

¹ The case with which the Paris mob invaded the Tuileries on the 20th of June and 10th August has often been a matter of comment. It was principally due to two causes. The disbandment of the King's Constitutional Guard, on the 29th May (see Vol. II., 80) which as Bertrand says was decreed in order to deprive the King of his only protection; and the reorganization of the National Guard after La Fayette's resignation of the Supreme Command, in October 1791. This reorganization divided the Guard into six Legions and gave the command of the whole to each of six "Chefs de Legion," who held it for two months in succession; an arrangement which allowed the force as a unit, to get completely out of hand, and prevented the officer in chief command from exercising any general control, even were he competent to do so. Another change for the worse in its composition, was the exhibition of a permanent force of paid gunners attached to each battalion of the Guard.

Many of these gunners were enlisted from the Guards Francaises, the Artillery who mutinied at Toul and other broken regiments. Partly for this reason and partly because the Clubs took care that it should be so, these gunners, the most formidable portion of the force, were strongly revolutionary. On both of these days they took an active or passive part against the King.

The invasion of the 20th June was planned and carried out

in which the King owed his life to his presence of mind and cool courage, the Queen to the dignity of her manner and appearance, and Madame Elizabeth to the general respect due to her character, and the admiration inspired by the heroic manner in which she exposed her own life to save the Queen's.

When the mob filled the apartments of the Tuileries, some without the intervention of the more prominent Jacobins or Girondists. Robespierre, Danton, Marat and the Girondist leaders, took no active part in the insurrection, but contented themselves with behaving towards its perpetrators with benevolent neutrality.

The actual leaders were Santerre, Alexandre, Saint Huenge (the stormy petrel of the Orleanist party), Fournier l'Americain, Rossignol and Legendre, a butcher. The names of most of these early Terrorists appear with constant iteration in each of the outbreaks from the Capture of the Bastille onwards. Agitation and insurrection were in fact the means by which they lived, their sole profession. Santerre was commandant of the National Guard of the Faubourg Saint Antoine, and Alexandre, a jeweller, of that of the Faubourg Saint Marceau, the two poorest and most insurrectionary Sections of Paris.

The avowed object for which these two commandants called out their battalions was to petition the Assembly in favour of the two decrees on the Camp of the Fédérés and the imprisonment and banishment of the Priests, which had just been vetoed by the King, and to plant a "Tree of Liberty" on the Terrase des Feuillants. But behind these avowed motives were others of a character less easy to avow. The Girondists hoped that the King might be intimidated into the reappointment of Roland, Clavière, Servan and the rest of the "Sans-Culotti" Ministry, while the Jacobins hoped for his abdication, or his death.

Santerre and the other leaders asked legal permission for their battalions to march, petition in hand, to the Assembly, but the Council of the Department of the Seine refused on the ground that armed petitioners were forbidden by the Constitution.

They then turned to Pétion, who hit upon the ingenious expedient of sanctioning the March of the National Guard of the two Faubourgs, to preserve order among the civil petitioners. The March of the National Guard, 7,000 strong, from the two Faubourgs, began about 11 a. m. and by the time they reached the Riding School of the Tuileries, where the Assembly sat, they were surrounded by an immense concourse of organized sympathisers and spectators, amounting to between 15,000 and 20,000, forming a very dangerous and

wretches insulted Madame Elizabeth, taking her for the Queen. "Do not undeceive them," said the generous princess to her attendants; "it will prevent them from attacking the Queen."

The crimes of that horrible day are so well known, that it is unnecessary to repeat them here. Hardly had the populace gone out of the palace, when those, even of the lowest class,

furious mob. Many were armed with pikes, muskets, sabres and knives. They bore banners inscribed with such texts as "Tremble, tyrant, thy last hour is come"; "The Veto or death." One carried an image of Marie Antoinette hanging on a gibbet with the inscription "Death to Veto and his wife," another (who was not admitted to the Assembly but appeared in the interior of the Tuileries) bore a bullock's heart on a pike inscribed "Heart of an Aristocrat." At the close of the Assembly, they were kept for some time, while the Legislators were debating as to their admission, in favour of which Vergniaud delivered one of his customary orations.

Between 1 and 2 p. m., they were admitted to present their petitions and filed through the Hall of the Assembly in a wild procession headed by women and children dancing the Carmagnole and screaming the "Ça Ira," followed by Santerre, Saint Huruge and Alexandre at the head of the National Guard and closed by the banners and by a vast unruly mob of men and women. It was half past three in the afternoon before the whole procession had drifted through the Hall and found itself on the Terrace of the Tuileries, whence it burst in a tumultuous thronging crowd into the Place de Carousel, and onwards to the Court Royal opening into the Tuileries itself. The King was persuaded to receive a deputation of twenty or thirty men to present a petition; but while arrangements were being made to allow of this deputation being formed, the gunners of the Faubourgs, dragging their cannon with them, forced themselves to the front and threatened to blow down the gate of the Palace. The great gate (by whose orders has never been known) was swung open and in a moment the mob and the National Guard were within the Tuileries itself. It should be mentioned that a strong force of the National Guard, consisting of from twelve to fifteen battalions, was on guard on the Terrace, in the Place Caroussel and elsewhere. They were commanded by the temporary Commandant General, an officer named de Romain-villiers, but from cowardice, from mischance or from that fatality which attended every effort to defend the King, they remained passive spectators throughout.

The King, with great difficulty, made his way through the crowd

who had taken no part in the insurrection, broke out into invectives against the authors of it, and admired the conduct, courage, and moderation of the King and the royal family. A Proclamation, extremely well written, was next day published. It was drawn up by M. Terrier de Monciel, who had just been named Minister of the Interior, and it produced a very good effect, not only in Paris, but in all the different Departments, who sent addresses to the King and the Assembly demanding that the authors of the insurrection might be punished with the utmost severity. It was in the Jacobin Club they were to be found. The information received by the Department of the Seine left no doubt on that point. It evidently appeared that Pétion the Mayor, and Manuel, Law Officer of the Municipality, both Jacobins, might easily have prevented or dissipated this insurrection: but it

to a seat in the window of the great hall known as the *Oeil de Boeuf*, when a few faithful officers, the Marshal de Mouchy, M. d'Hervilles, Aeloyne, one of the "Chefs de Legion" of the National Guard, and a small body of the Grenadiers of the Guard formed a rampart around him.

For more than two hours the mob swung backward and forwards through the long suite of apartments, shouting, "Down with the Veto," "To the Devil with Monsieur and Madam Veto," and a hundred cries of the same sort. The King, with a strange passive courage which was so prominent a trait in his character, stood or sat apparently calm and unmoved; drank from the bottle offered him, to the health of the nation, allowed a man to place his hand on his heart to satisfy himself of his calmness, and put on a red cap of Liberty.

The Queen with her children, Madame Elizabeth, the Princess de Lamballe and the Duchess de Touzel, endeavoured to join the King, but the pressure of the crowd was so great that they were obliged to remain in an inner room, the Council Chamber, where they were placed in separate windows guarded by a few friends, servants and grenadiers.

Meanwhile the Assembly had quietly adjourned to meet again at 5:30 p. m., when the question was debated whether the King was in any danger. "Bah," said one member, "how can a King be in danger in the midst of his people?" Even the Assembly, how-

was pretty universally believed that they had favoured it; and the whole of their conduct was judged so reprehensible, that in spite of their great popularity the Department suspended them from their functions. This decision produced a great effect in the Capital. The majority of citizens approved of it; the Royalists thought it too moderate; the Jacobins were enraged, and breathed vengeance. According to the Constitution, the decrees of the Department could not be executed until they were confirmed by the King, and afterwards they were to be submitted to the Assembly, who had authority to repeal or confirm them, whatever had been the King's decision. This Decree, suspending the Mayor, was of course presented to the King, who refused to take any cognizance of it, giving for his motive, that as it regarded himself personally, he, as well as his Council, might be sus-

ever, was at last shamed into sending a deputation of twenty-five members, to be renewed every half hour. Of this deputation a part remained with the King, while the rest did what they could to protect the Queen and her children. At last about 7:30 p. m., Pétion, who had done nothing whatever in his capacity as Mayor during the day, drove up in his carriage, "neat, trimly dressed, fresh as a bridegroom." Mounting on a chair he addressed the seething crowd, in some such terms as these (the actual words he used differ somewhat in the various reports): "Friends and brothers! You have always shown me your confidence and good will. Do not give the opportunity to your calumniators to put an evil interpretation on this memorable day. You have acted with dignity and discretion. End as you began. Let us now retire. I will set you the example, and I hope you will all follow it." As obediently as though they had been a disciplined army obeying the word of command, the mob melted away.

The King's conversation on the next morning with Pétion will be found in a note.

This first invasion failed. The King was not intimidated into recalling the Girondist Ministers, he had not abdicated or been dethroned, and he was still alive.

The Revolutionists had gained one point only. They had learned how easy a matter it was to invade the Tuileries and how little trust its defenders could place in the National Guard.

pected of partiality, and therefore he chose to refer the Decree to the President of the Assembly; at the same time informing him of his reasons for not pronouncing upon it, and declaring that he relied with confidence on the wisdom of the Assembly. The Jacobins, too artful to let slip such an opportunity of mortifying the King, and being now more indifferent with regard to the general indignation which they had in a great measure appeased, prevailed on the Assembly to declare that this conduct of his Majesty was unconstitutional, because the Constitution had not pointed out any one case in which the Decrees of the Departments should not be decided upon by the King, before they should be submitted to the National Assembly. The decree, therefore, was carried to the King, who being thus forced to decide, immediately confirmed it: but two days after, this judgment was annulled by the Assembly, who repealed the Decree of the Department, reinstated Pétion in his office, and thus re-established with triumph the power of the Jacobins, to the great scandal of many who, though indignant, remained passive for want of leaders.

The situation of the King and Queen became daily more difficult and perilous: the execution of the plan mentioned in M. de Lessart's letter, was now pursued with equal success and activity.

The King could no longer hope to secure his safety by means of force; for, besides that he was by character averse to such measures, he was deprived of every resource of that nature by the disbanding of his Guard, the union of the Swiss to the troops of the line, and the emigration of the Nobility. All that now remained for him, was to fly from the capital; but the consequences, ever to be deplored, of the journey to Varennes, and the many mortifications which attended that event, connected every enterprise of that kind with reflections so bitter, that nothing could have induced him to listen to

any plan of escape, but the most positive assurances that the lives of his family were in danger, and that flight alone could secure them from the poniards of assassins. I say, the lives of his family, not his own; for ever since the day on which he was stopped at Varennes, the unhappy Prince had been deeply impressed with the idea, that he would be assassinated; that all attempts to elude his destiny, would have no effect, but that of increasing the danger of his family and friends. Under this melancholy impression, he waited for death with a resignation so calmly heroic, that it might have been mistaken for indifference to life.

He frequently read the history of Charles I. of England: his chief attention was to endeavour in every act to avoid whatever might serve as a pretext for bringing him to a legal trial.

The sacrifice of his life seemed to cost him nothing. The honour of the nation was the sole object of his thought. The idea of being publicly murdered, in the name of the people, shocked him greatly. He wished rather to die by the hands of an assassin, that his murder might be considered as the crime of a few individuals, and not a national act.

In a conversation with this unhappy Prince on the 21st of June, I discovered that his mind was deeply impressed with the most dreadful forebodings.

To my congratulations on his having escaped the dangers of the preceding day, his Majesty answered:

"My uneasiness was entirely on account of the Queen and my sister; for myself I had no solicitude."

"But it seems to me," said I, "that it was chiefly against your Majesty that the insurrection was directed."

"I know it very well," answered he; "I saw that their intention was to assassinate me; and I can't conceive why they did not do it: but I shall not escape them another day; so

that I am not the more fortunate. It is much the same whether I am murdered two months sooner or later."

"My God!" cried I, "does your Majesty then really believe that you will be assassinated?"

"I am convinced of it," replied he, "I have long expected it; and I have made up my mind to it. Do you think I fear death?"

"No, certainly; but I wish to see your Majesty less convinced that you are near it, and more disposed to adopt the vigorous measures from which alone you can expect safety."

"There may be a possibility of my escaping; but still there are many chances against it; and I am an unlucky man. I might risk another attempt if I were alone. Oh! if my wife and children were not with me, it would soon appear that I am not so weak as is imagined; but what would become of them if the measures you allude to should fail?"

"But if your Majesty should be assassinated, do you think that your family would be in greater safety?"

"Yes, I think they would. I hope so, at least; and, if it should happen otherwise, I could not be reproached with being the cause. But what do you think I can do?"

"I think," answered I, "that your Majesty could now leave Paris with less difficulty than ever; because the events of yesterday have made it too clear, that your life is not in safety in the capital."

"Oh! I will not attempt to escape a second time; I suffered too much on the last occasion."

"I am of your Majesty's opinion," replied I, "that you ought not to think of escaping secretly at present; but the general indignation which is raised by the events of yesterday, offer, in my mind, a very favourable opportunity for your leaving Paris openly, and without opposition; not only with the consent of the great majority of the citizens, but even with

their approbation. I beg that your Majesty will give me leave to take this measure into consideration, and afterwards to submit my ideas to you respecting the mode of executing it."

"You may do so; but you will find it more difficult than you imagine."

One of the incidents of the 20th of June, which had given most vexation to the King's friends, was, that the red cap had remained on his head for nearly three hours. I took the liberty to beg of his Majesty to explain a circumstance seemingly so inconsistent with the cool intrepidity remarkable in his conduct on that day. His answer was as follows:

"When the cry of *vive la nation* was redoubled with vehemence, and evidently addressed to me, I loudly said, that the nation had not a better friend than myself. Upon which a fellow, of a sanguinary aspect, with a pike in his hand, and evidently drunk, forced his way close to me through the crowd, and said rudely enough, 'If you are telling the truth, prove it by putting on the red cap.'

"I consent," answered I, "and directly the fellow, with one of his companions, advanced, and placed the cap on the top of my hair; for it was too small for my head. I imagined, I don't know why, that their intention was merely to place the cap, and to withdraw it directly; I thought no more about it; indeed, I was too much engrossed by the scenes around me, to think of the cap; and, after I had returned to my own apartment, when one of my attendants mentioned it, I was astonished to find it on my head; indeed, I am convinced I might have taken it off in the hall without any danger; but, I am also convinced, that if I had opposed its being placed on my head, the man in liquor would have plunged his pike into my bowels."

The Marshal de Mouchy, and M. d'Hervilly, who were present, and saw all that passed, have both related the same cir-

cumstances in the same manner; from which it appears, that if the King could not prevent the insult of the red cap being placed on his head, he cannot be accused of allowing it to remain there so long as it did through fear of taking it off.

On the 23d of June I sent his Majesty a plan, of which I have preserved the subsequent note:

“Article First. To re-establish the Constitutional Guard, and inform the Assembly of it by a letter to the President, in which the King should, at the same time, give notice, that it was his intention to exclude all the officers and soldiers against whom any serious accusation has been proved, desiring the Assembly to send him a list of their names.

“Second. To give orders, that the three thousand Swiss, who were at Courbevoye, shall set off in detachments, consisting of five hundred men, and be placed in the principal villages upon the road to Fontainebleau, to attend the King’s passage.

“Third. As soon as the Guard is re-established, which can be done in less than three days, as the officers and soldiers are all at Paris, a letter should be written to the National Assembly, importing, that the King’s health, and that of the royal family, requiring the country air, his Majesty intended to pass a few days at Fontainebleau; and that he would take necessary measures for preventing this journey from obstructing the public business. That a letter to the same effect should be written to the Municipality, and both sent at the moment when their Majesties were stepping into the carriage; so that their intention might not be known till they had passed the barriers. No person should be in their confidence before the instant in which they set off: that they should go in the same carriage in which they usually take their airing; and every preparation avoided which could possibly raise suspicion of a project to escape.

“Fourth. There should be only one carriage, and the same number of guards which usually accompany the royal family: that orders should be given for three hundred guards on horseback, to meet the King, two miles from Paris, on the road to Fontainebleau, in order to overawe all who should show any disposition to hinder his Majesty from continuing his journey: the rest of the Constitutional Guard should be distributed at the various posts where the detachments of the Swiss Guard had, according to the second article, been previously placed.

“Fifth. That an hour after the departure of the royal family, M. de la Porte, or any other person in the King’s confidence, should inform those domestics whom the King or Queen choose to attend them, to set out separately, and at convenient intervals, lest too great a number of carriages appearing at the same time should excite the attention and inquietude of the people.”

The King wrote, in answer, on the margin of my plan:

“A departure so precipitate without preparations, and before informing the Assembly, has too much the appearance of a flight. If I should not set off till the Assembly have received my letter, and deliberated upon it, they would pass to the order of the day; and, in that interval, an insurrection would be raised to stop me. Besides it will be almost impossible to execute your plan without taking several persons into our confidence. The re-establishment of my Guard would also, in all appearance, meet with great opposition.”

Upon these observations, I submitted to the King another plan, or rather the form of another letter to the Assembly; by which he should place them between the alternatives of approving of his departure by a Decree, or of rendering themselves responsible for every attempt which might be made against his person.

This new letter was conceived in the following terms:

“ M. le President.

“The health of my family, as well as my own, require that we leave Paris. I propose going to Fontainebleau, and shall take the necessary measures to prevent the journey from retarding public business. Nevertheless, if the Assembly is of opinion that I ought not, in the present emergency, to go far from Paris, I can defer my departure for a few days.

“I beg you will transmit to me the opinion of the Assembly on this subject. I desire also, that you may inform them, that I am occupied with the new formation of my Constitutional Guard.

“I desire that the Assembly may send me the names of the officers or soldiers against whom there exists any serious accusation, supported by proof, that they may be left out of the new establishment.”

At the same time that I sent this new plan, I remarked to his Majesty, that the Assembly could not avoid deliberating upon his letter; and, that if they approved of his Majesty's departure, he had no obstacle to apprehend; but if, on the contrary, they should declare that his presence was necessary at Paris, they could not dispense with using every possible precaution for the security of his person, that they might not give just ground for being accused of having detained the King for no other reason than in order to have him assassinated.

The King rejected this second plan, by the following marginal note:

“It is undoubtedly necessary to provide for our safety; but even that must be done with dignity. I find none in the new plan you propose.”

This answer was in a style that I never should have ex-

pected from the King: I suspected its being dictated by the Queen; and was confirmed in my opinion next day on receiving a letter from her, conceived in nearly the same terms.

That unfortunate Princess, although overwhelmed with misfortunes, allowed herself to be deluded by the hopes, that the King's affairs would, of themselves, take a favourable turn: she entertained that idea to the last. To this security, or fatal want of foresight, we must attribute her repugnance to the only measures that now remained to save the King and herself from the impending danger.

PRIVATE MEMOIRS OF

CHAPTER VIII.

Representations made to the King upon the necessity of adopting a plan, and adhering to it.—The King approves of the proposal of concerting with M. Montmorin and M. Malouet, respecting his situation.—Plan for gaining the galleries of the Assembly.—Rejected by the King, but executed without his knowledge.—He discovers this, and orders its suspension.—General plan of conduct proposed to his Majesty.—M. de la Fayette.

I WAS far from thinking that the faint remains of royal dignity could be wounded by the plan I proposed to the King, and I attributed his answer less to any idea of his own of that nature, than to the usual indecision of his character, and to the influence of the Queen. To this may be added, the illusion in which he was kept by those around him, respecting the attachment of the Parisians to his person, and the loyalty of the National Guard, both which were represented as much greater than they were in reality. Indeed I had long been averse from exposing the dangers that surrounded him to their full extent, from a fear of discouraging him too much. I now thought it incumbent on me, however, to represent, in a letter, that his situation had become so critical, that I durst no longer take on me to advise him, without the assistance of other counsellors, in whose prudence and attachment he placed confidence; that it appeared absolutely necessary that some plan of conduct should be formed, adapted to the present circumstances, and strictly adhered to, which would prevent his being left to the mercy of events, without the power of resistance, or any preparation to meet them; that if his Majesty had already adopted any plan, and would condescend

to communicate it to me, I would lay it before M. Montmorin and M. Malouet; that after deliberating on it with them, I would transmit the result to his Majesty, who would reject or adopt it as his wisdom directed. I informed the King, at the same time, that Buob, the justice of the peace, was clearly of opinion that nothing was more urgent than to secure a majority in the galleries of the Assembly, by placing a sufficient number of hired people to overbalance the emissaries sent there by the Jacobins.

The King wrote the following notes in the margin of my letter:

1st. "I feel the necessity of a plan, although it appears to me impossible to avoid deviating sometimes from any plan whatever. Send me one."

2dly. "The scheme of gaining the galleries would be a good one, if it were practicable: but we must renounce it. During the first Assembly, the same attempt cost the civil list more than three millions, and the galleries were constantly against me notwithstanding."

3dly. "I approve of your taking the advice of Messrs. Montmorin and Malouet, respecting your plan, and every other important matter you may judge proper to propose to me."

The King esteemed M. Malouet, and relied on his attachment. He had filled with honour the places of Intendant of the colonies and of the marine, and was equally distinguished in the Assembly for his understanding, courage, and probity. His opinions, though generally very just, were seldom adopted, because he belonged to no party; and of course all parties were usually against him. The Right could not forgive him, because he wished to have a representative government; while he enraged the Left by his unalterable zeal in supporting royalty.

I do not say that at the first period of the Revolution, when

people's minds were heated by new systems, that M. Malouet constantly opposed the ideas so universally adopted in favour of liberty, a new Constitution, and of a considerable degree of reformation; he had perhaps too high a notion of the advantages of giving France a new Constitution, and a greater degree of freedom. Perhaps he imputed to the Government certain acts of despotism, which entirely proceeded from the imperious character of certain Ministers. He may, in common with the best men, have fallen into mistakes: but it must be acknowledged that his intentions were always pure; and that he was the first to foresee and announce the horrible consequences to be dreaded from the Revolution; that none defended, with more intrepidity, the rights and prerogatives of the King, to whom he gave proofs of zeal and attachment to the very last. In short, he is the only one who, after the Constitution was accepted, had the courage to ascend the tribune, and make a formal protest against it.

M. de la Porte, to whom I communicated the scheme of gaining the galleries, assured me that the King's statement was pretty exact; for that in the space of eight or nine months more than 2,500,000 livres had been expended for that object, but without attaining it. In fact, the persons entrusted with that business were suspected of having turned the greatest part of the money to their own profit; and as it was impossible to guard against imposition in an affair of that nature, the King had determined to renounce such schemes altogether.

Although, of the two chief undertakers for gaining the galleries, one made a purchase, at that time, of land to the value of 1,200,000, and the other, of land to the value of 700,000 livres, I will not affirm that those purchases were made with the money of the civil list: but I do assert, that it is not in their power to clear themselves of that suspicion, but

by acknowledging and proving that they were guilty of a degree of negligence almost as culpable.

During my own administration, I knew, by experience, that the applause of the galleries could be secured at no great expense. It was on the day on which I was to give my final answer, before the Assembly, to the denunciations which had been made against me. I had been informed, two days before, that the secret committee of Jacobins had agreed to reinforce the number of their emissaries in the galleries, on purpose to hiss me. This information was communicated by one of the "Conquerors of the Bastile," as they were called. I had rendered a great service to this man before the Revolution, and he was entirely devoted to me ever after. He had great influence in the Faubourg St. Antoine, and engaged to find, amongst the workmen of that quarter, two hundred robust hardy fellows who might be depended upon, and to bring them to the Assembly, on the day appointed, before the doors were opened, that they might secure places in the galleries. They were directed to hiss or applaud according to certain signals from their leaders. This manœuvre had all the success I could desire. The discourse I pronounced was frequently interrupted by the applause of the galleries, which continued for a long time after I had done speaking. The Jacobins were confounded, and could not comprehend the meaning of it. I was still in the Assembly with the other Ministers, who had all paid me the compliment of accompanying me on that occasion, when the Abbé Fauchet desired permission to speak upon a matter which he declared was of great importance.

"A letter has this instant been delivered to me," said he, "informing me that a great portion of the citizens have been *hired* to applaud the Minister of Marine."

But the abbé's established reputation for impudence and falsehood made his accusation appear ridiculous, especially as it was not unusual for the speeches which I made in the Assembly to be applauded by the people in the galleries; for I had been always careful to season them with certain words and phrases which, without regarding their import, the people never failed to applaud, when they were pronounced with sufficient emphasis.

Hardly had the Abbé Fauchet finished his speech, than it was stifled by a general murmur of the Assembly, and the hisses from the galleries, who had received a signal for that purpose.

This victory over the Jacobins cost me nothing, because my champions, from attachment to their chief, would receive nothing from him but a glass of brandy.

I gave the King an account of this, in answer to his Majesty's last notes; and I sent him a plan that Buob had remitted to me, for gaining the galleries, by which the expense would only have amounted to 800 livres a day. It was as follows:

To fill the two first rows of the galleries with 262 persons, whose pay was to be as follows:

1st. For a chief, who alone was in the secret, 50 livres a day.

3dly. An under-chief, chosen by the first, 25 livres a day.

3dly. Ten adjutants, at 10 livres a day, to be chosen by the chief, but having no acquaintance with each other. Each of these were ordered to hire twenty-five men, and to bring them every day to the Assembly.

4thly. Two hundred and fifty men, at 50 sols a day.

The chief was to be placed in the middle of the front of one gallery, and the under-chief to take his place in the same part of the other; the chiefs only to be known to the five ad-

jutants who were placed in each gallery. The under-chief was to receive orders by a signal from his superior, which could be understood by him only; who, by a second signal, conveyed the order to the adjutants, who, on their part, by a signal, communicated it to the twenty-five men each adjutant had under him. This manœuvre was always performed in both galleries at the same instant. The ten adjutants, and all under them, were to be engaged in the name of Pétion, and on pretence of supporting the Constitution against aristocrats and republicans. A gentleman, in the King's confidence, was to communicate with an officer of the disbanded guards, devoted to his Majesty, furnishing him, at the same time, with money and instructions for the conduct of the galleries. This officer was to deliver the same to a man in whom he had confidence, who was the engager of the chief, who, on receiving the money and instructions, was to direct the whole as above mentioned.

By means of those precautions, the entire discovery of the plan was next to impossible; because, although one of the agents had revealed all he knew, yet, by making another agent disappear, the chain of discovery would have been entirely broken.

In order to guard against imposition as much as possible, Buob proposed to send five men every day to each gallery, as observers of what passed, with orders to endeavour to calculate nearly the number of those who applauded or who hissed, and bring him an account of it.

The King sent back the whole of this plan to me, without approving it: but when I informed Buob, who was, of all the men I ever knew, the most headstrong and unmanageable, he said, with passion,

“The King may think of this plan what he pleases, but I am certain that nothing but this, or a scheme of the same na-

ture, can save him and his family. I will therefore take it on me to save them at every risk; and if I should never be paid by the civil list, I will do without it."

Accordingly he made the trial for a week, and the consequence was as follows: The first and second day the chiefs were contented to prevent both hissing and applauding. The signals they gave for preserving silence were always under the pretence of wishing to hear the speakers more distinctly. This alone was an essential point gained. The third day they began to applaud the constitutional orators with moderation, and continued to prevent their opponents from being applauded. On the fourth day they observed the same plan; only the applause of the constitutional speeches was more animated. The Assembly were at a loss to comprehend the meaning of all this. The members looked frequently with astonishment to the galleries: but seeing them filled with people of the usual appearance, they imputed the applause to some mistake, and took no farther notice. The fifth day the same applauses were redoubled, and they began to hiss faintly anti-constitutional motions and opinions. The Assembly was a little disconcerted: but one of the adjutants, being questioned by a deputy, answered, that he was for the Constitution and for Pétion. They were confirmed in the notion of the audience being under a mistake. The sixth day, the hisses and applauses being continued in the same style, but with much greater violence, the Assembly took offence. A motion was made against the galleries, which they repelled with clamour, abusive language, and threats. Some of the people in pay carried their audacity so far as to raise their sticks, in a menacing manner, against the deputies nearest them, exclaiming that the Assembly was a band of villains who deserved to be destroyed.

The President, being, perhaps, afraid that the whole of the

audience might adopt the same opinion, broke up the Assembly.

In going out of the hall, several of the deputies, addressing some of the most active agents, were assured that they had been engaged in the name of Pétion. Those deputies immediately carried their complaint to him, convinced that he had been deceived; that he would disapprove the conduct of his agents, and dismiss them.

Pétion, who had not before heard what passed in the Assembly, swore, with great truth, that he had no hand in the matter; and that he had not, for a long time, employed any person in the galleries; adding, that it must be some manœuvre of his enemies, and that he would neglect no means of discovering the authors. Accordingly, I received accounts that his emissaries had been in the Faubourg St. Antoine, and had questioned a number of workmen, without making any discovery.

The King took notice of the remarkable change which had taken place in the galleries, and soon guessed the cause. He wrote to me, that he saw they had been gained, but that the expedient had been carried too far; that it should be reserved for a more urgent occasion; and that he would let me know when he wished such means should be employed; meanwhile, that I must give Buob positive orders to disband his troops.

I have often thought that it would have been wiser to have adhered to the plan of merely silencing the galleries, as it was by means of their clamour and applause that the Assembly passed the most violent decrees: but Buob was anxious, above everything, to convince the King, that by paying the galleries, it would be possible to go any lengths against the Jacobins. If this object could have been attained at this desperate moment, when the force of the Government was greatly weakened, and when there remained only one crime more to

be committed, in order to overset the Monarchy, it is probable that had Buob's plan been adopted during the first Assembly, before the intemperate heat of the Jacobins had misled, and even enslaved, the public mind, the Government might have been maintained.

After several conferences with Messrs. Montmorin and Malouet, respecting the plan which the King had demanded of us, we proposed to him what follows:

"1st. To prepare, without loss of time, the re-establishment of the Constitutional Guard.

"2dly. To defer, as long as possible, the execution of the decree suppressing the Swiss Guard, on purpose to unite them with the troops of the line.

"3dly. To let no opportunity escape of publishing proclamations, the best calculated for enlightening the people respecting the manœuvres and snares of the Jacobins, and for keeping the Parisians in the favourable disposition produced by the insurrection of the 20th of June; also to write letters, with the same view, to the Assembly, as often as any plausible pretext should occur.

"4thly. To endeavour to find the means of withdrawing from Paris in the safest way possible.

"5thly. Not to divide his confidence; that is to say, not to consult separately people of different notions and principles, who, having no communication with each other, would only embarrass him, or lead him into contradictory measures, which would end in ruin."

The King did not return the above plan for two days after receiving it. The subsequent answer was written in the margin when it came to me.

"I cannot but approve of your plan, and have only to object to the difficulty I foresee in its execution. Mention cir-

cumstantially in your next how the first and fourth articles are to be accomplished.”

I had already reflected on those means which we had discussed in our committee; but it was unnecessary to inform the King of them until we knew whether or not our plan would be agreeable to him.

The part which M. de La Fayette acted at the commencement of the Revolution, was too remarkable to permit his conduct at a later period to be passed over in silence. This Constitutional General, whose head was not a little turned by the American Revolution, and by extravagant sentiments of liberty, had unquestionably been one of the principal instigators of the French Revolution; of which he expected to become the Washington. His friends thought him in reality capable of being so; but he has since sufficiently proved, that whatever resemblance there might be in their dress or appearance, there was a prodigious difference in their abilities.

But justice and truth compel me to acknowledge, that from the end of March 1792, M. de La Fayette's eyes seemed to have become open to his past errors (his present situation, and the misfortunes of his family forbid any harsher expression): the dreadful progress of the Revolution alarmed him; and he seemed sincerely resolved to try every means to save the King.

Although he did not possess all the firmness requisite for such an attempt, perhaps he would have succeeded, had it not been for the extreme reluctance of their Majesties to every vigorous measure, and their unwillingness to owe such an important service to a man whom they had so long considered as their enemy.

One day, about the beginning of June, I met with M. de Lally Tolendal,¹ recently arrived from England, at M. de

¹ Trophime Gérard, Marquis de Lally-Tolendal, was one of the

Montmorin's: he asked me to go with him into the garden, where he spoke to me as follows:

"Sir, though I am no longer a French but a British subject, I will retain to my latest breath, the warmest attachment to the person, respect for the virtues, and gratitude for the favours of Louis XVI.

"If ever the day should arrive in which I shall be instrumental to his safety, I will esteem it the happiest of my life. I am here for that purpose only, and we are not totally devoid of hope. I say *we*, because I am united with M. de Clermont Tonnerre,² and other friends, devoted entirely to the King,

small but able band of reformers who advocated in the early days of the Constituent Assembly the formation of a Senate, a House of Peers, the retention of the Royal Veto and a number of other measures not inconsistent with the maintenance of a Constitutional Monarchy. Disgusted with the outrages committed at Versailles, on the 5th and 6th October 1789, he, with his colleague and friend, Mounier, fled to England.

In 1792, in the hope of saving Louis XVI., he returned to Paris. On the 10th August he was arrested and sent to the Abbaye prison, whence he was fortunate enough to be set free a few days before the Massacres of September. Again he escaped to England, where he had lived for some years on a pension granted to him by the English Government. During the Consulate he returned to France and lived quietly at Bordeaux until the Restoration. In 1815, he accompanied Louis XVIII. to Ghent and after the King's return to France accepted a seat in the House of Peers, and took an active part in the government of France up to his death, at the age of 79, in March 1830.

² I have already in the Introduction to these Memoirs, spoken of Count Stanislas Clermont Tonnerre as one of that small band of able and experienced statesmen whose counsels might have saved France in the early days of the Revolution. After the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly, he had the courage to remain in Paris in the hope of saving Louis XVI. and the Monarchy. His career was soon cut short by assassination.

On the 10th August, 1792, an armed crowd of Fédérés and patriots broke into his house and carried him off as a prisoner to the headquarters of his "Section."

On the way he was shot from behind, but escaping for the moment,

to royalty, and to liberty. A plan for his complete restoration on these grounds, has been the result of all our deliberations. We have communicated our plan to M. Malouet. He has advised me to make you acquainted with it, as you possess the King's confidence; and I have called you aside for that purpose."

After this introduction, M. de Lally assured me that the basis of the plan formed by himself and his associates, was to set the King at full liberty; to crush the Jacobins; to render his Majesty the mediator between France and Europe, between the French and the French; then to proceed to reform the Constitution itself; to bound the popular power by the means of the people themselves; and to ensure to Louis XVI. the consolation which his heart so much panted after, that of uniting, like Trajan, the liberty of the people with the prerogative of the prince.

"All this is very fine indeed," said I; "but for the execution of the first step, the King's deliverance, what means have you?"

"La Fayette, with his National Guard," replied he, "or with his army, or with both."

"La Fayette! La Fayette!" cried I; "and is it possible you can depend on such a man after all we have seen of his conduct?"

"The question no longer is what M. de La Fayette did three years ago," said he, "but what he can and is willing to do now. Is it not possible for the same man to be inflamed with a love of liberty, so as to be led astray, and afterwards ardently endeavour to crush that unbounded and criminal licence, which he at length perceives to be dangerous to true freedom? At he took refuge in the house of the Duke de Brissac, then a prisoner at Orleans. He was at once pursued and cut to pieces by the mob, who proceeded to devastate and set on fire the house in which he took refuge.



this moment La Fayette is pursuing his romance. He has just now begun to be a believer in the rights of royalty, because he conceives it to be now adopted, settled, and consolidated by the choice and the oaths of the people. But if royalty is as sacred to him by its recent, as it is to us by its ancient titles; if he remains as strictly bound to the Monarchy, because it is in the Constitution, as we are, because it is in our hearts and our reason, of what importance is this difference to us, since he proceeds with us to the same end? It is his actions, not his motives, we stand in need of."

Though by no means convinced by this reasoning, I could not refuse to transmit it to the King, with a long memorial which M. Malouet gave me on the part of M. de Lally.

Some days after, M. de La Fayette wrote from the army his famous letter of the 16th of June (see Introduction, page 61), addressed to the Assembly against the Jacobins, and demanding the suppression of their meetings. This letter was greatly applauded by the majority of the Assembly and the galleries; but it irritated the Jacobins to such a degree, that to prove that they were not intimidated by his attack, they excited the insurrection of the 20th of June. The horrible circumstances of that day filled the army with indignation, and encouraged M. de La Fayette to appear at the bar of the Assembly on the 28th of the same month. In the name of all the officers and soldiers of his army, he demanded the punishment of the authors and accomplices of the crimes and excesses committed on the 20th.

When the King heard, on the morning of the 28th, that M. de La Fayette was arrived from the army, and of the demand he was to make at the bar of the Assembly, his expectations were very high respecting the success of that measure: but they were not of long duration; for, although the discourse, pronounced by the General, was as strong as the circumstances

Letter of Lafayette.

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I WILL not speak of public affairs : a man dead to the world, buried for twenty-one months, could judge them but poorly. That liberty, of which Europe is feeling the need, which England is losing regretfully, for the return of which France prays in secret, is nevertheless assassinated by the double faction of Jacobin committees and secret cabals. If it is a strange thing to respect brigands because they call themselves patriots, and to consider oneself free because a score or so of republican phrases have been associated with the most infamous system of tyranny, it is none the less so to imagine that the national sovereignty, placed between this new usurpation and the old rebellion of the tyrants, can gain anything by the success of the allies. And even though these men should veil aristocracy, intolerance, and arbitrary authority under a few so-called constitutional trappings, I cannot in truth persuade myself that the cause of humanity can be really served by powers leagued against it.

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LAFAYETTE.

je ne parle ni de des affaires publiques, un Homme Mort au-
Monde, Entier depuis vingt-un mois, Les jugera Mal; La Mort donc
L'empêche sans le Besoin, que L'Angleterre perd à Regre, que La France Rappel-
par des Vaux secrets, rien en-pas moins Allié par La double faction des
Commis jacobins, et des Cabinets Coalisés. S'il est étrange de Respecter des
Brigands parqu'ils se disent Patriotes, et de se croire libres parqu'une
vingtaine de mots Republiains a été Contre au plus infame Système de
Tyranie, il ne l'est pas moins de s'imaginer que La souveraineté Nationale
placée entre cette Nouvelle Usurpation, et l'antique Rebellion des Despotes, puisse
gagner quelque chose au Succès des Alliés. et les même que ceux-ci dequ'on
L'aristocratie, L'intolérance, et l'autorité Arbitraire sous quelques de nos Soixante-
Constitutionels, je ne puis en vérité me persuader que la cause de L'Humanité
doive être réellement servie par les puillances conjurées contre elle!

Lafayette

exacted, and was heard with applause by the audience; and although he was invited to the honours of the sitting; yet scarcely had he taken his seat, when his conduct was violently attacked by several deputies, particularly by Vergniaud and Guadet.

They reproached him for having quitted his post without leave, and for attempting to intimidate the Assembly in the name of the army; for both of which, they asserted, he well deserved to have a decree of accusation pronounced against him. During those declamations, which were also applauded by the tribunes, M. de La Fayette remained silent and passive; and thus permitted all the favourable effect produced by the bold step he had taken to be so completely annihilated, that he thought the best thing he could do, was to make his escape from Paris that very night, and to join the army.

M. de La Fayette's appearance at the bar would, in all probability, have had a very different issue, if, previous to his arrival, his friends at Paris had prepared those of the National Guard, who were attached to him, for his coming; if they had made him be accompanied to the Assembly by a part of those guards, and had filled the galleries with the rest; and if, being thus supported, M. de La Fayette, at the very first sentence of Guadet's speech, had called him to order, and addressed the President in some such terms as the following:

“That member, sir, forgets that I speak here in the name of an army, faithful to the Constitution, and ready to shed their blood in fighting against its domestic, as well as its foreign enemies; and that, on the petition of this army, of which I am the bearer, it is the instant business of the Assembly to deliberate; more especially as I was obliged by my soldiers, when I left them, to promise to dispatch a courier to inform them of the decision of the Assembly at the end of this very sitting; and I must not dissemble, that if your decision is not con-

formable to the Constitutional demand which I have now expressed in their name, I cannot answer for the consequences."

M. de La Fayette, however, seems not to have been quite discouraged by the ill success of his embassy; for, on the 10th of July, M. de Lally came again to me, with an air of triumph; and putting a paper into my hands, he said, "Read what I am authorised to transmit to the King, and remain afterwards incredulous if you can." It was a long letter written by M. de La Fayette from his army; in which he drew a plan (ready, as he said, for execution) to open the way to the King through his enemies, and to establish him in safety either at Compiègne, or in the north part of France, surrounded by his Constitutional Guard, and by his faithful army. All this was to be done constitutionally.

I transmitted this letter to the King, who, notwithstanding that his distrust of M. de La Fayette was considerably abated, could never believe that he had it in his power to accomplish the restoration of the Monarchy, like another Monk; and, besides, he deemed the plan now proposed but feebly calculated for that purpose. His Majesty, therefore, sent me an obliging but a negative answer, to deliver to M. de Lally, to be by him transmitted to M. de La Fayette. It was in these words:

"Let him know that I am sensible of his attachment in proposing to incur so much danger; but it would be imprudent to put so many springs in motion at once. The best way he can serve me is to continue to make himself a terror to the factious, by ably performing his duty as a General."

LOUIS THE SIXTEENTH.

CHAPTER IX.

A design formed by Santerre of murdering the Queen.—One of my letters to the Queen taken from my table by a journalist.—The arrival of the Marseillais at Paris.—Measures proposed to the King on that occasion.—A club established under the name of National Club.—Lieutaut's troop.—Mayor of Étamps.

NOTWITHSTANDING his Majesty's approbation of the plan presented to him from Messrs. de Montmorin, Malouet, and myself, there was no certainty of its full execution; because the King and Queen never could retain a full confidence in any man or set of men, they were apt to give a certain weight to the opinion of others, however opposite. The consequence was, that in the different projects of letters and proclamations, as well as in the measures we proposed, the King adopted some part, but added others, which often destroyed the effect of the whole.

Thus, in spite of all our efforts, new errors daily augmented the dangers which threatened the King and Monarchy. We disregarded those which were personal, however imminent: our thoughts and wishes were wholly engrossed by the desire of saving that august and unfortunate family, who were too much abandoned; and it required all the zeal and attachment which animated us, not to be discouraged by the continual obstacles which the King's indecision opposed to the success of our measures.

Towards the end of June, or in the beginning of July, a man whom I did not know, whose name was Grammont Carton, and, by his own account, an officer of the staff of the army, came to my house betwixt eight and nine o'clock at

night, and told me, that he had a secret of the utmost importance to communicate, and which concerned the life of the Queen; but, as I was not acquainted with him, he desired, that, previous to his explaining himself, I should consult her Majesty, to whom, he said, he had been personally known ever since the 6th of October 1789. I wrote next day to the Queen, informing her of this conversation; but suppressing what related to herself, and desiring to know whether this Grammont Carton was a person to whom I might listen with confidence; and, to save her trouble, I begged her Majesty would return my letter, with a simple affirmative, or negative, for answer.

The same day, about twelve o'clock, my letter was returned, with the following verbal answer from the queen:

“Yes, but with caution.”

Having laid my letter, which had been thus returned, upon the table, I continued to converse for half an hour with the person who had brought it; after which, a journalist of my acquaintance entered my apartment. Before he seated himself, he threw down some papers he had in his hand upon my bureau, and placed his hat above them; then he explained the occasion of his visit, which was to beg I would lend him a thousand livres to enable him to print a new edition of his account of the insurrection of the 20th of June. His statement of that event, while it was perfectly exact, put the conduct of his Majesty in the most favourable point of view; and was, by that means, calculated to make a happy impression on the minds of the people.

I was the more surprised at this demand, as, immediately after the publication of that paper, he had come and represented to me, that it was his intention to publish a second edition, to distribute *gratis* all over the capital and the Faubourgs; but that he could not on account of the present distress of his circumstances. On this representation I gave him 300 livres,

which was the sum he required. However, on his representing that his present demand was for a third edition, of which a thousand copies were to be distributed through all the principal towns of the Kingdom; and that he expected only the loan of the money, which he would repay from the profits of the sale, I agreed to his demand; and, having taken up his hat and papers, he retired. About half an hour after he was gone, I looked for my letter to the Queen; and not finding it, concluded that I had burnt it, as had been my intention. About a fortnight after, one of my brothers came to me, with an air of consternation, and told me, that my correspondence with the Queen was discovered; and that one of my letters to her Majesty had been found. As I was convinced that the Queen burnt all my letters which she did not send back to me, I had no doubt but that this was a trick in order to discover, by my uneasiness or my tranquillity, whether I really was in correspondence with her Majesty or not; I therefore desired my brother to be quite easy on the subject; and begged that he would try to find out from what quarter the calumny came.

He returned to me next day, and told me that one of his friends, whose intentions, with regard to me, could not be suspected, had assured him, that his information was from one who had seen the letter; that it consisted of eight or ten lines, in my handwriting. Still this did not alarm me. I supposed it a counterfeit letter, in which my handwriting was imitated.

On the evening of the same day, the Baron de Gillier came to me to obtain some information for Madame Elizabeth. I spoke to him of the story which had gone abroad, of my correspondence with the Queen; and I asked him if he had heard of it.

“What is more,” said he, “I have read your letter to the Queen.”

"Read my letter to the Queen? Impossible!"

"I repeat it," said he. "I read your letter to the Queen. But make yourself easy, for I had it burnt in my presence. In this letter you asked the Queen if you might listen with confidence to a particular person, who said that he was known to her Majesty, and had an important secret to communicate to you."

"But where was that letter?" said I.

"In the hands of a journalist, who, the last time he came to see you, took it, by mistake, from your table, among some papers of his own."

"You have assuredly rendered me a very great service," said I; "for some people took pains to assure me, that the person who was in possession of that letter intended to make me purchase it at the price of a considerable sum of money; which certainly was in his power, because, although there was nothing criminal in the letter, yet at this period, the discovery of any correspondence with the Queen might have proved fatal to me."

The day on which I received the Queen's answer, M. Grammont returned to me; and upon my telling him that I was now authorised by her Majesty to hear what he had to say, he assured me he was positively informed that Santerre had the project to have the Queen assassinated; that a grenadier of his battalion had engaged to perpetrate the crime, for a considerable sum of money, a small part of which he had already received; that he had confided the secret to a girl with whom he lived, and whom he would be enabled to marry, by means of the sum he was promised. The girl, who was a washerwoman, entrusted the secret to a female friend, who communicated it to her own lover, who happened to be the hairdresser of M. Grammont Carton, to whom he communicated the secret, informing him, at the same time, that

he knew the grenadier in question, whose figure was sufficiently remarkable, by a large cicatrice in his left cheek; and that the 14th of July, the day of the federation, was the time fixed upon for execution.

In spite of the suspicious channels through which the intelligence came to me, it was of too serious a nature to be neglected. I gave information to M. de La Porte, being convinced that he would take every precaution the circumstance required. At the same time I ordered the justice of peace Buob to place a dozen spies about the palace, to watch for the grenadier, of whose figure a description was given, with orders, that as soon as they saw him, to give notice to the officer commanding the nearest post of the guard; because I was informed, by M. de La Porte, that all the commanders of guards had received orders to arrest that fellow.

On the 14th of July, M. Grammont went himself to the chateau. The grenadier appeared at eight o'clock at night, dressed in a plain coat; and although he was perceived by the sentinel of the gate, yet he had the address to make his escape. He had the impudence, however, to return at eleven the same night, in his uniform, and was taken up at the bottom of the stair leading to the Queen's apartments. He was at first remarked by having feathers in his cap of a colour different from those worn by the battalion then on guard, and afterwards completely distinguished by the cicatrice on his cheek. He was immediately conducted to the guardroom. On searching him, a cutlass was found concealed in the lining of his coat. The next morning, just as he was going to be brought before the judge of peace, he was carried off by a band of ruffians, who came to the gates of the chateau on purpose to rescue him.

I was informed of this event by M. Grammont, whom I persuaded to make a formal declaration of the above facts before

M. Maingeot, Magistrate, in the section of the Tuileries, and have the same verified by the testimony of the officers who had been on guard at the Queen's apartment. A verbal process of the whole was accordingly made.

This act of duty proved fatal to M. Maingeot. That respectable man was among the victims of the 10th of August. Santerre, who knew that he had drawn up the *proces verbal* respecting the grenadier, sent a band of assassins to his house, who, having murdered him, seized his papers, and brought them in triumph to their worthy chief.

Two days after the 10th, as Grammont himself has since informed me, Santerre made a description of his face and person to be posted on the walls, with a promise of a considerable reward to any who would deliver him to Santerre, dead or alive.

This fact may be true: but as I myself was obliged to remain concealed, from the 10th of August till I made my escape out of France, I had no opportunity of inquiring about it.

The 14th of July was rendered extremely critical, from the following circumstances. The camp of 20,000 men, decreed by the Assembly, was prevented from being established, by the King's refusal to sanction the decree. In order to supply this, the Jacobins had taken measures for having all the vagabonds they could engage brought to Paris, under the title of *Fédérés*. Amongst these was the famous band of banditti known by the name of *Marseillais*, who, on the very day of their arrival in Paris, attacked, in the *Champs Elisées*, a detachment of the National Guard, who were supposed most devoted to the King, and wounded several officers and soldiers.

Amongst the measures of security which these dangerous bands rendered necessary, that which struck me as the safest and most practicable was to establish, at a house in the Carrousel, opposite to the Tuileries, an Assembly, under the title

of the National Club or Association, where all the officers and soldiers of the National Guard that could be depended on, and other citizens, well disposed to the King and Constitution, might occasionally meet; and in case of any attack on the palace, assemble in arms, for its defence, on the shortest notice.

Buob, who first suggested this scheme to me, proposed, at the same time, to add six or seven hundred auxiliaries, chosen out of the manufactory of Perier, of which several of the principal workmen were zealous royalists. Those alone were to be in the secret; and two of them were to go every morning to the club, and remain the whole day, that they might be ready to give notice for the others to come with their followers as soon as they were required.

The pay of those principals was to be five livres a day, and that of the workmen forty sols on the days they were employed, and ten when they were not. The real destination of this force was to be kept secret from the under-workmen. It was to be given out to them that they were only required to join the National Guard, to assist in maintaining order in the capital. They were to wear red caps, and were to be armed with the pikes previously deposited in the club-house; and in order to avoid receiving Jacobin spies, or persons whose principles were not known, into this association, none were to be admitted but by a majority of three-fourths of the club.

The King approved of the plan, and desired me to defray the expense of it, which amounted to one thousand livres a day, including the other expenses of the club, namely, the refreshments, which were given at the lowest price possible, in order to attract the greater number of soldiers. The pikes, red caps, tables, chairs, benches, and other furniture, cost 9,000 livres. The establishment was complete in less than four days.

About this time another association of the same kind was formed for the same purpose. It consisted of a number more or less considerable, chosen out of the populace, and commanded by one Lieutaut, formerly officer of the National Guard of Marseilles; a man equally brave and intelligent, who had acted a principal part in the insurrection of that city against the Revolution during the first National Assembly.

I only knew Lieutaut by reputation; but I had employed one of his aid-de-camps with success on the day of the *fête* given the soldiers of *Chateau Vieux* on their recall from the galleys.

The Swiss regiment of *Chateau Vieux* having joined with the seditious troops at Nancy, against whom M. de Bouillé had been sent, the most culpable had been condemned and sent to the galleys at Brest; but the Jacobins had influence with the Assembly to obtain a decree to annul their condemnation, and set them at liberty. Not satisfied with this, they invited the soldiers to Paris, and then prepared a triumphant entertainment for them in the *Champ de Mars*. This entertainment was called *le Fête de Chateau Vieux*.

So different was the treatment which the Jacobins gave to those Swiss who had rebelled, from that which they showed on the 10th of August to the Swiss who were faithful to the King and Constitution.

Besides being courageous, and entirely devoted to the King, Lieutaut possessed the talents of varying his countenance, and changing the sound of the voice, so entirely, that he was not to be known for the same person. By this means he sometimes made himself pass for one of the Marseillais; at other times, for a workman in one or other of the suburbs of Paris, whose accent and manners he could assume with wonderful success. Thus, in those various characters, he gained admission into all the patriotic meetings, and groups; discovered their projects, and gave me information.

As it was to be dreaded that the Jacobins, ever on the watch, would seize the occasion of the populace returning intoxicated from the *Champ de Mars*, where the *fête* of *Chateau Vieux* was to be held, to excite them to attack the palace, I instructed this agent to do everything in his power to prevent this; for which purpose I directed him to employ about thirty of his most sober friends to watch over the different groups, admonish them to moderation, entreating them not to disgrace the patriotic *fête* by acts of tumult and excess; and assuring them, that such was the wish of the Jacobins, of Pétion, Marat, Robespierre, &c., &c. I gave him 600 livres to enable him to treat his principal agents with a good supper, and five livres each, in the name of a patriotic society. I told him, at the same time, if his endeavours to maintain order were without effect, and if any danger was to be apprehended for the Tuileries he was to return before the populace left the *Champ de Mars*, and to give timely notice of the danger by a signal from a particular part of the *Pont Royal* that could be remarked at the *Pavillion de Flore* (a portion of the Tuileries), at a window, where a man appointed by M. de La Porte was stationed to observe. But fortunately this precaution was unnecessary, as the day passed with much greater tranquillity than was expected. I cannot determine whether this is to be attributed to the vigilance of my agents, or to a plan of the Jacobins, who might possibly have taken measures to prevent any tumult on this occasion, that the Parisians might be accustomed to see the populace assemble without dread.

The *fête* of *Chateau Vieux*,¹ contrived by the Jacobins to irritate the people against the King's pretended tyranny, had

¹ The *Fête* of Liberty is of special interest as being the first attempt of the demagogues of Paris to proclaim the sovereignty of the streets over constituted authority, and the first of the long series of similar *fêtes* during the course of the Revolution. It was held in honour of forty-one Swiss soldiers of the Regiment of *Château Vieux*, who had

all the success they could wish. The soldiers who had revolted, and who justly merited death, were carried in a triumphal car to the *Champ de Mars*, where the absurd populace, under the guidance of the infamous Collot d'Herbois,² proclaimed them martyrs of liberty, victims of despotism; and, mutinied at Nancy in 1790 and had been condemned to the galleys for life.

A Decree of the Legislative Assembly, 31st December 1791, set these men free. The Jacobins then determined on bringing them to Paris and celebrating their release, and they entrusted the arrangement of the Fête to Collot d'Herbois and Tallien.

The Fête was forbidden by the highest Constitutional authority of Paris, the Department of the Seine, but was patronized by Pétion and the Municipality, eager for any means by which to overawe the Court and the Constitutionals; and as usual the decision of the higher authority was set at naught by the subordinate but more active body. After a long debate the Swiss mutineers were admitted to the honour of a sitting of the Legislative Assembly, the motion to admit them being carried by the vociferation of the Gallery and by 546 votes against 265, an ominous division for the supporters of anything resembling law and order.

The Fête itself took place on the 15th April 1792, when the released mutineers were first welcomed by the Mayor and then carried to the Champs de Mars in triumph with a cortège of others brandishing pikes, virgins shedding tears of sensibility, patriotic hymn singers and all the rest of the paraphernalia, which a year or two later became a weariness of the flesh even to the Parisian mob.

² This was the first public appearance on the political stage of Jean Marie Collot d'Herbois, hitherto known only as a theatrical manager, actor and author of many farces and minor comedies. Having once made his debut as a Revolutionist he developed with extraordinary rapidity. Elected as one of the famous list of Jacobin Deputies for Paris, he soon distinguished himself in the Convention by the brutality and fury with which he attacked the Girondists. In September 1793, he became a member of the "Committee of Public Safety" which organized the Terror into a system of government. In this body, he joined Billaud-Varennes and Barère in their veiled opposition to the less violent party consisting of Robespierre, Saint Just, Couthon and the remaining members. On the 31st October of the same year he was sent, with Fouché as his colleague, to carry out the Decree of the Convention ordering the destruction of Lyons, the abolition of the name Lyons and the substitution of the name "Commune Affranché" and the erection of a pillar on the ruins of

as such, had caressed, and given them money, over and above a considerable sum raised by general contribution.

That criminal farce was but too well calculated to familiarise the people with the idea of revolt; to encourage them in it; and by this means entirely extinguished the faint remains of respect they still retained for the King and his authority.

Buob, whose zeal was always active, proposed to me to ob-
the city bearing the inscription, "Lyons made war on Liberty — Lyons is no more."

In the horrible mission Fouché played a subordinate part. On Collot lies the responsibility of devising the scheme of wholesale murder known as the "Fusillade," a simple device by means of which several hundreds of prisoners, linked together by a long chain, could be shot down in a single volley. The total number of his victims amounted to 1,905, of whom 1,127 were butchered by the Fusillades and 728 were guillotined. On his return to the Committee of Public Safety, Collot was greeted with some mutterings of disapproval which even found vent in the Convention.

He thought it worth while to defend himself in a speech so characteristic of the period that it should be carefully read by all who wish to comprehend the spirit of the Terror. To take one sentence, "We are full of sensibility. The Jacobins are possessed of every virtue. They are compassionate, soft-hearted and generous; but they know how to reserve all their sentiments for their brethren, and no aristocrat can ever be the brother of a Jacobin." This attitude towards Robespierre on the 9th and 10th Thermidor was worthy of the man. On the 9th he attacked him virulently in the Convention, but finding it necessary to attend the Jacobin Club, which was still faithful to Robespierre, on the same evening, he gave way entirely, fell at Robespierre's feet, embracing his knees and tearfully praying for pardon. Next morning, the 10th Thermidor (28th July 1794), in the different atmosphere of the Convention, he used all the power which he derived from the fact that he was acting as President to silence Robespierre and Saint Just. Almost the last recorded words of Robespierre, "President of Assassins, for the last time I call upon you to hear me," were hurled at the man who had crouched before him a few hours earlier. Callot's treachery did not save him for long. Denounced in August 1794, he found himself obliged to resign his seat in the Committee of Public Safety, and a second denunciation in April 1795, resulted in a Decree sentencing both Collot and his friend Billaud-Varennes to transportation to Cayenne. There he died, at the age of 45, on the 8th June 1796.

literate the impression of this *fête* by giving another in honour of the Mayor of Etampes (Henri Simonneau),³ who had just been massacred, by a popular insurrection, while discharging the duties of his place, and who was very generally regretted.

I mentioned the proposal to the King, who approved of it, and suggested the means of rendering the *fête* more solemn and striking.

"This *fête* is very well imagined," said his Majesty; "and it will have still more effect if the motion comes from the Sections or the Municipality."

Buob undertook to have the motion made in the Sections, and in the Municipal Council, by means of his adherents, who would represent it as the desire of all good citizens; many of whom had already subscribed for defraying the expense of the *fête*. In reality, the sum of 10,000 livres, which the King had authorised me to give, was prepared as the produce of an anonymous subscription of above 200 contributors.

The *fête* was accordingly voted by the Sections and the Municipality of Paris, in spite of all the manœuvres of the Jacobins to prevent it. Nothing was omitted to render the celebration splendid and affecting: the hymns and inscriptions were composed with great judgment, and numerous pamphlets

³ Henri Simonneau, Mayor of Étampes, was trampled to death while endeavouring to suppress a grain riot in that town. Such efforts in defense of law and order against the will of the Sovereign People, as exhibited by the nearest mob, were so rare during the Revolution that it was thought desirable to celebrate Simonneau's courage by a "Fête of the Law" as a counterbalance to the "Fête of Liberty" held in honour of the mutinous soldiers of the regiment of Château Vieux; but notwithstanding the efforts of the Constitutionals and the large sums of money spent, the Fête which was held on the 1st June 1792, was a dismal failure. Fear of the Jacobin mob and the timidity or indifference of the respectable classes either kept people at home or made their applause cold and uninspiring.

were distributed, execrating the plots and crimes of the factious. But such resources only produced a momentary effect. Those were but weak measures to oppose against ferocious monsters, whose legal extermination was absolutely necessary for the safety of the King and of the State.

PRIVATE MEMOIRS OF

CHAPTER X

M. de Monciel withdraws from the administration.—He is admitted into our secret committee.—Another person is proposed, whose admission I oppose.—At the King's desire I agree to it.—The project of a fresh insurrection on the 29th of July.—Means employed to prevent it.—A new plan for the King's escape.

M. DE MONCIEL¹ was forced, by private circumstances, to quit the Ministry, where he had only remained a month: but during that short interval he displayed prudence, abilities and zeal for the King's service. His Majesty continued to place confidence in him, and he was admitted into our committee immediately after his resignation. As his person was not much known in the palace, he had the advantage of not being remarked when he appeared there; and on the days of the committee he regularly waited upon the King at nine o'clock at night, to give him an account of what had passed there; which he could do in a more circumstantial manner than I could in my letters. The King not being more exact than formerly in following our advice, M. de Montmorin proposed

¹ Antoine René Terrier de Monciel, who had held the office of President of the Department of the Jura and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Elector of Mainz, was appointed Minister of the Interior in succession to Roland, 18th June 1792, two days before the invasion of the Tuileries by the mob. On the 10th August he found a temporary shelter in the "Jardin des Plantes" (the Botanical Garden of Paris), and afterwards contrived to effect his escape to Germany. Although he lived until August 1831, he played no further part in history, except for a few weeks in 1814, when he acted as Agent for the Bourbons at the headquarters of Alexander I. of Russia at Troyes.

to call into our committee a certain person (Adrien Duport),² who *had been* a member of the Constituent Assembly, because he knew that this person kept up a secret correspondence with the King, and suspected that he sometimes embarrassed his Majesty, by giving him advice different from ours. I warmly opposed this, from the repugnance I felt at having any communication or connection with a man, whose conduct had been so odious and contemptible as I knew that of the person in question to have been.

"He has acknowledged his errors," said M. de Montmorin, "and wishes to repair them. Besides, I am certain it would give pleasure to the King, who, you know, has confidence in him."

"I have often heard that," answered I; "and if it be so, I am very sorry for the King's sake, as no good can result from it."

"I neither love nor esteem the man more than you do," said

²The person here alluded to is Adrien Duport, a member of the Constituent Assembly and a friend and ally of Barnave, Alexandre Lameth and other members of the Left of the Assembly. In the early days of the Constituent Assembly Duport acted as the agent of the Duke d'Orleans; hence the bitterness with which Bertrand speaks of him.

On the King's return from Varennes, Duport was one of the Commissioners appointed to examine Louis, a difficult and delicate task, which he performed in such a way as to win the King's esteem and confidence. He was at this time acting as one of the Judges of the Criminal Court of Paris. After the 10th August he took refuge in his own house near Nemours, where he was arrested and was being conducted to Paris, where certain death at the hands of the September Murderers awaited him, when Dartois, whom he had formerly befriended, diverted his course to Melun, where he was tried by an ordinary Tribunal and promptly acquitted. He returned after the 10th Thermidor 1794, was elected to the Corps Législatif of 1795 and was one of those proscribed by the Coup d'État of the 18th Fructidor (4th September 1797).

He died at Appenzel, Switzerland, August 1798.

M. de Montmorin: "but, in short, I would admit the devil, if his presence could be of any service to the King."

"And so, most certainly, would I: but I am persuaded that this devil can only do harm."

"You may be mistaken," said M. de Montmorin; "so let us see. Come, come, you must make this one trial."

"In the first place," replied I, "it must be clear to me that the King desires it, and I will bring it to the proof in my first letter."

I accordingly gave the King an account of M. de Montmorin's proposal, and also of my repugnance to adopt it. He wrote back in the margin,

"You will give me pleasure by adopting the proposal."

In compliance to his Majesty's will, I told M. de Montmorin that he might send to the gentleman when he thought proper.

Our first interview was in the committee following, for I did not even know him by sight. I observed him, and listened to what he said with silent attention, only answering his civilities by monosyllables. His discourse was vague. He was loquacious, without saying anything to the purpose. He spoke much of himself, of his influence and resources, and of those of his friends; and what might be done through their means, and of the compensation they ought to receive in return for their services. In a word, one would have thought, according to him, that we ought to desire the King's welfare, and the re-establishment of his authority, merely on purpose to place the gentleman himself, and his friends, at the head of affairs. With all this, he proposed no plan whatever, except that of meeting us very often. He invited me to his house, and begged that I would permit him to visit me. I refused both requests, upon the pretence of prudence and circumspection; but my

real motive was, that I felt both indignation and contempt for the man.

We agreed that our next committee should be held at the house of M. de Monciel, and that we should go there on foot, to avoid being remarked. When he left us, I asked M. de Montmorin if I had not guessed right, in conjecturing that such a man could never do us any good.

“Do not judge of him by this first conversation,” said M. de Montmorin; “he seemed to have drank too much at dinner. Suspend your opinion till the next committee, and you will find that he is a man of real talents and resources.”

At our next meeting, this gentleman, in spite of our agreement, arrived in his carriage, ordering it to be driven into the court. He spoke less, but always in the same strain, and always about himself and his friends. One would have supposed that these gentlemen, who, till then, had never possessed any power but that of doing mischief, and had only had the means of committing crimes, when they reigned in the Jacobin party, had now the command of an army, able to overset that very society which had expelled them; as if one could wear by turns, and always with equal success, the red cap and the white cockade, and lead the populace one day to the tree of liberty, and the next rally them under the royal standard.

Nothing undoubtedly is more inconsistent than the will and affections of the people, but they seldom or never change their party without changing their leaders also.

Dumouriez experienced this on the part of his army, when he wished to lead it to the support of the Constitutional Monarchy; and many others, when they had become ashamed of a Revolution which had originally been their own work, continued, in spite of themselves, to serve it; and, in fact, were as hurtful to the King's interest when they professed them-

selves royalists, as they had been when they were Jacobins. Such, in my opinion, was our new associate and his friends. I therefore formed, in the instant, a resolution never more to meet him at the committee. M. de Montmorin perceived, by my looks, what passed in my mind, and therefore when the gentleman proposed to fix the day, the hour, the place of our next meeting, he told him that care would be taken to give him notice: but he never received another summons.

I informed the King of our motives for not choosing to have any further communication with this person, and his Majesty approved of them.

In the meanwhile the Jacobins were continually projecting the means of exciting a new insurrection, of a more decisive kind than that of the 20th of June. The 29th of July was fixed upon for its execution. Their design was the murder of the royal family, or at least to dethrone and imprison the King. The plan was as follows:

Three hundred men were to assemble at the Mayor's residence, on the pretence of guarding Pétion from a supposed plot against his life, but, in reality, to prevent him from going to the Tuileries, where the duties of his office would have called him at the hour of the insurrection, which was to be begun in the Faubourgs, during the blockade of his house. The insurgents were then to march in great force to the Place de Carousel, with the cannon and all the gunners who could be assembled, all this on pretence of protecting the brave Pétion, and exterminating the conspirators, who, as was asserted, were concealed in the Tuileries.

I was luckily informed of all the above particulars on the 19th of July, and instantly gave an account of the project to the King, strongly urging the necessity of his taking immediate measures for his safety. I advised him, for one thing, to leave Paris, adding, that I would consult that very day with

Messrs. Montmorin and Malouet, and send him the plan of his escape, which appeared to us the least dangerous; that in the meanwhile I would employ every practicable means of over-setting the scheme of the Jacobins, or at least of getting its execution postponed long enough to give his Majesty time to take the necessary steps for his departure.

The means which appeared to me most effectual for averting this execrable plot, was to lay it open immediately by publishing all the particulars in a great number of pamphlets, which I accordingly caused to be distributed with profusion in the capital, but particularly in the Faubourgs under the titles of "A horrible plot against Pétion; new conspiracies against the national representation; the false *sans culottes* unmasked," &c., &c. But as I knew that the populace, though they seldom read pamphlets, devoured all the placards which are stuck on the walls, and particularly *the Friend of the Citizens*, by Tallien, printed on yellow paper; and *the Sentinelle*, by Louvet, on blue: imitating as much as I could the violently patriotic style of the latter, I caused all the above particulars to be printed on the same paper, and in the same character, entitling the composition, *Sentinelle*, No. 42; and made them all be pasted upon No. 41, wherever it had been fixed by Louvet's directions the foregoing day; by which means my history of the conspiracy had been read by all Paris before the Jacobins had time to tear it from the walls. I had foreseen that this would be the fate of my paper; and therefore had directed the first third of the false *Sentinelle* to be numbered 42, the second 43, and the third 44; and gave orders that Louvet's two succeeding *Sentinelle*'s should be covered as soon as they appeared, by the same paper, but marked with different numbers from that which had been pasted on the first.

I had recommended to Buob, to send people who could be depended upon, to stand at a convenient distance from those em-

ployed in sticking up the placards, lest they should be disturbed in the execution of their orders. That precaution was not unnecessary, as several of them were attacked by the spies of the Jacobins, and blows were given and received on both sides. One of my agents had three of his teeth broken, but was quite consoled on receiving an assignat of a hundred livres. The opposition was so violent as to prevent my placard of No. 44 from being pasted up. Wherever it was attempted, the force of the Jacobins was found to be superior. One of those employed by me to paste placards, was taken up and conducted before a magistrate; but, as he knew not the person who had given him the paper, the magistrate could draw no essential information from him.

He deposed, that a person unknown had proposed to him, in the name of Louvet, to stick up thirty copies of the *Sentinelles* in those streets and alleys, of which the person gave him a list: that knowing the *Sentinelles* to be a patriotic journal, he had, without scruple, undertaken the business, for which he was paid five sols per placard.

The magistrate, after reading the spurious *Sentinelles* and the real one, declared that he could perceive no difference betwixt them either in style or principles: that they appeared to him equally good; and that he should be at a loss to say which was the most patriotic of the two: that consequently the prisoner's mistake was very excusable, and he ought to be set at liberty.

I do not affirm that these pamphlets alone were the cause of preventing the insurrection of the 29th of July; but they certainly contributed to that end.

The King, in his answer to my letter, entreating him to leave the capital, positively declared that he would not go any farther than twenty leagues; because that distance was fixed upon by the Constitution, which he had sworn to observe; and,

in the plan for his Majesty's escape, I had therefore had his scruples of conscience as much in my eye as his safety.

M. Clermont Tonnerre had for some days assisted at our committees with the King's consent: his zeal and clear understanding were highly useful to us in that important crisis. After profound deliberation with him, and Messrs. de Montmorin and Malouet, I drew up the following plan:

"The castle of Gaillon³ in Normandy appears the most eligible place as a temporary retreat for their Majesties: the building is spacious, the park very extensive, and it is exactly at the distance of twenty leagues from Paris.

"This place unites to the many advantages of the situation, that of being only thirty-six miles from the sea on the Honfleur road, and fifty miles on the side of Fecamp; consequently, a secure and easy means of retreat will be open to the royal family in case of their being pursued by the Jacobins. M. Mistral, Naval Commissioner at Havre de Grace, who is a zealous Royalist, will always have a vessel in readiness to sail at an hour's notice.

"Besides, I am assured, that the people in that part of Normandy are particularly well disposed to the King.

"It will not be difficult for the royal family to escape from the Tuileries at midnight, and pass through the Intendant of the civil list's residence, which communicates with the palace by the great gallery of the *Louvre*, from which it is separated

³ Gaillon is a small town in the Department of the Eure, on the bank of the Seine.

The Castle, the foundation of which dates back to the year 1262, was one of the most beautiful buildings in France. It had been for centuries the country residence of the Archbishops of Rouen. It was confiscated, with the property of the Church in 1790. In 1793 it was sold, as a portion of the National domain, and has since been in great part demolished. What still remains of the building forms part of the prison of the Department.

The Château of La Motte, belonging to the Duke of Orleans, was situated near Dieppe. Its park ran down to the seaside.

by an old wooden partition, and guarded during the night by a single sentinel only, whom it will be easy to set asleep by drink or opium.

“On that evening M. de La Porte will invite no company to supper excepting Messrs. de Montmorin and Clermont Tonnerre, who will come in plain coaches, without arms, drawn each by two horses only. As the same number is usually every night at the gate of M. de La Porte’s house, for the use of those who sup with him, these two coaches cannot possibly attract attention; they will be occupied by the royal family, Madame de Tourzel,⁴ and two waiting women. M. Clermont Tonnerre will get up behind the one, dressed in a grey coat; and an officer of the disbanded guards, in the same dress, will go behind the other.

“The King and Queen will seat themselves in the back seat, in order to be the less exposed to observation.

⁴ Louise Elizabeth, Marchioness, afterwards Duchess de Tourzel, succeeded the Duchess of Polignac, who deserted her post in July 1789, as Governess to the Royal children. She accompanied the Royal Family in their flight to Varennes in June 1791, travelling under the name of the Baroness van Korf, to whom the passport permitting the carriages to leave Paris, had been granted. After the miserable return to Paris, Madame de Tourzel remained faithful to her duty until the 10th August, when she with her daughter Pauline, who was afterwards Countess de Bearn, accompanied the King and Queen and their family to the National Assembly and afterwards to their prison in the Temple. On the 20th August the mother and daughter were taken from the Temple and imprisoned in La Force. They were saved from massacre on the 2nd September, by the devotion of a brave member of the Municipality of Paris, named Harde, who not only conducted them in safety from La Force, almost at the moment of the Princess de Lamballe’s assassination, but kept them in safe concealment for nearly six months at Vincennes. She and her daughter were twice again arrested, and on the next occasion were saved only by the death of Robespierre. After the restoration Madame de Tourzel was created a Duchess; she died in May, 1832. Her Memoirs, which were not published until the year 1873, throw much new light on the last year of Louis XVI. and his family, and especially on the flight to Varennes, June 1791.

“To avoid the Faubourgs, and get out of Paris as soon as possible, they will pass through the Boulevards, and go out by the *Barriere blanche*, which is less carefully guarded than the others; they will go by the *rue de Clichy* into the road to St. Denis.

“The execution of the decree which reunited the Swiss Guard to the troops of the line, furnishes additional means of security upon the road. For this purpose, the commander of the Swiss Guard shall regulate their march by the following instructions, which he will receive from the Minister:

“First. A detachment of fifty men shall leave Paris at such a time as to arrive at the *Barriere blanche* at the same time with the King, in order to divert the attention of the sentinel, or of the guard of that *barriere*, and preclude every obstacle to his passage.

“Secondly. A detachment of 1500 Swiss shall set off from Courbevoie, so as to be at St. Denis six hours before the King passes; and as large a number as possible of the soldiers of this detachment shall be quartered in the street through which the main road runs, having orders to hold themselves in readiness to set off at one o’clock in the morning: that in case of a check, they may be prepared to obey the first signal given them by their commanding officer, who ought to be intrusted with the secret as soon as he arrives at St. Denis, and receive instructions to secure a safe retreat for their Majesties, and to follow the coaches as soon as they pass.

“Thirdly. A second detachment of 550 men to set off from Courbevoie, so as to be at Franconville six hours before the King passes; and the same orders to be given to the officer of that detachment as to the officer at St. Denis.

“Fourthly. The last detachment, consisting of a thousand men, ought to be at Pontoise six hours before the King, in readiness to follow with the other detachments.

“All the officers and soldiers of the King’s horse-guards being still at Paris, M. d’Hervilly declares, that he only requires twelve hours previous notice to reassemble them at Versailles about midnight, to seize their horses in the King’s stables, and afterwards to lead them to any part of the road which his Majesty shall appoint.

“The two coaches to change horses at half a league beyond St. Denis. Part of the guard may be in waiting for the King at that place, and follow the coaches, while the remaining division may proceed directly to Triel.

“From Pontoise to Gaillon, the King’s retreat will be secured by detachments from two Swiss regiments employed in the Department of the Seine, who are extremely well disposed to his Majesty: these detachments shall proceed on the same route with the coaches after they have passed.

“Their Majesties may stop for a day and a night at the castle of Vernon, to give time for the necessary furniture to be carried to the castle of Gaillon, in case that the furniture which was in it has been sold, as there is reason to believe.

“Those of the King and Queen’s household, whom they desire to have with them, will receive secret orders to follow, twelve hours after the King’s departure from Paris, and take with them, with every necessary precaution, whatever linen and clothes their Majesties may require. Confidential couriers must be established at proper places on the road, that his Majesty may be informed every hour of the state of the capital, of the measures of the Assembly, &c., &c. Those couriers may be chosen from the disbanded foot-guards who remain in Paris.

“As soon as the royal family shall arrive at Gaillon, the King will write to the Assembly, the Municipality, and to all the Departments, informing them of the circumstances and motives which have obliged him to withdraw from Paris.

“A fair representation of the insults the royal family were

subjected to, and the imminent dangers which threatened them, cannot fail to justify his Majesty's conduct; and such a statement may possibly make a salutary impression on the minds of the people.

"M. de Montmorin, as well as myself, hope that his Majesty will permit us to follow, or to go before him."

I did not draw up the above plan until I had consulted M. d'Hervilly respecting the military operations in which he was to act a principal part: he approved of it entirely. In my letter to the King, which accompanied the plan, I entreated him to consider the urgent and great dangers to which not only himself, but all his family stood exposed: I represented to him, that there remained no other method of securing him against those dangers, but such a measure as was now proposed; and that there was not a moment to lose, unless he was determined to abdicate the Crown, according to the advice which he was said to have received from many respectable persons sincerely attached to him; particularly M. Malesherbes. That however great my repugnance was to such a measure, my well-grounded apprehensions for his Majesty's life would have prompted me to advise the same, if I were not convinced that the above plan for his leaving Paris would be equally safe, and in my humble opinion more becoming.

CHAPTER XI.

The King approves of our plan for his escape.— M. Lefort, *marechal de camp*, is sent to Gaillon to examine its position.— The Dukes of Chatelet and Liancourt make offer of considerable sums of money to his Majesty.— Letter from the deputies Vergniaud, Guadet, and Gensonné to the King, which he returns to them without taking any advantage of it.— Conversation with M. Malesherbes on the subject of this letter.— Plan of the Girondists.

I SUGGESTED to the King, that before the plan for his departure was ultimately adopted; and while the necessary preparations were making for its execution, that it would be prudent to send a faithful and experienced officer into Normandy, unknown in that province: that he would find no difficulty in obtaining the permission of the directory of the Department to see the castle; particularly if he announced a design to purchase it: that he must carefully examine the situation, and the means of defence of which it is susceptible; and see whether it would be practicable to obtain assistance, if necessary, from Rouen: that he must be directed, at the same time, to employ all his circumspection and address in sounding the sentiments of the chief members of that Department, and the Municipality, respecting their attachment to his Majesty; and, above all, the general disposition of the troops.

I proposed that M. Lefort, *Marechal de camp*, should be entrusted with this commission: the King was acquainted with that gentleman's talents and his zeal. He was great grandson

to the celebrated Lefort, distinguished in Russia by the confidence and friendship of the Czar Peter the Great.

After communicating the plan to the Queen, and reflecting upon it two days, the King approved of it, and of immediately sending M. Lefort to Normandy. But he observed, that it was first of all necessary to procure money: that he was far from being in possession of a sufficient sum, the civil list being exhausted. I immediately communicated this answer to M. Montmorin, who told me, that the Duc du Chatelet¹ had informed him confidentially, that for these two months past he had kept a million livres in reserve to offer the King whenever he stood in need of it: that sum therefore might be counted upon. I had, on my own part, already secured of my own fortune, and from other hands, the sum of 600,000 livres; and I had hopes of assistance from the Duke de Liancourt, who had frequently assured me, that he was ready to convert his whole lands into ready money for the King's use, reserving only a hundred guineas a year for his own immediate subsistence. He had already lent his Majesty 190,000 livres upon my receipt, and had promised me 900,000 livres about the beginning of August. I informed the King of these resources, which, with the sum of 6 or 700,000 livres in assignats, and 5,000 louis d'or that the King had by him,

¹ Marie Louis Florent, Duke Du Chatelet, had for his mother the celebrated Marquise Du Chatelet, the friend of Voltaire and of so many of the distinguished men of letters of the age, was born in 1727 of an ancient family of Lorraine. After serving as one of the six gentlemen attached to the person of the Dauphin, afterwards Louis XVI., and seeing some service during the Seven Years War, he was created a Duke in 1771 and promoted to the Colonelcy of the Regiment of the King. He sat in the Constituent Assembly, in which he took an active part, as a member of the party of Royalist Constitutional reformers. After the fall of the Monarchy, he was arrested, tried before the Revolutionary Tribunal and guillotined on the 13th December 1793.

made up about three millions. I urged the importance of not deferring M. Lefort's mission, and the King authorised me to send him off next day.

At this time the Girondists had the greatest influence in the Assembly, as well as in the Jacobin Club. Among the chiefs of this party were Vergniaud, Guadet, and Gensonné. The plan for a second insurrection was their work; and although they had not yet ventured to put it into execution, their design was not abandoned. It was publicly announced that this insurrection would certainly take place some time before the 15th of August. The three deputies above-mentioned commissioned one Bose, a painter, to deliver to Thierry, the King's *valet de chambre*, a sealed packet, containing a letter to the King, which Thierry was required, on his responsibility, to deliver into his Majesty's own hands.

By this letter, which was signed by those three deputies, it was declared to the King, "that the discontents of the people were ready to break out in a very terrible manner; that an insurrection, much more considerable and violent than that of the 20th of June, was already planned, and ready to burst forth at the first signal; that it would take place in less than a fortnight, and the dethroning of his Majesty was the mildest consequence it would have; that his only means of avoiding this catastrophe was to recall Roland, Servan, and Clavière to the Ministry, in eight days at farthest; that if the King would consent, and give them his word, they would pledge their heads to prevent the insurrection from taking place."

The King, after reading this impudent and insolent letter, returned it to Thierry, whom he blamed for having received it, and ordered him to give it back, and to tell Bose, that no answer could be made to such a proposal.

Unfortunately the King, on this occasion, only consulted the natural generosity of his disposition. His extreme goodness

even extended to the wicked, and always prevented him from turning against them those arms with which they themselves furnished him. If the King had sent a copy of this letter, attested by all the Ministers, to the Assembly, another to the Municipality, and one to each of the Departments; had copies of the same been distributed in Paris, and in the principal cities throughout the Kingdom, it would have made such an impression as would have occasioned a general rising against the Jacobins. I should most certainly have suggested the above measure to the King, had not the letter been returned before I knew of it. However there was one advantage still to be derived from it, namely by employing it as a proof, to the Assembly, and to all France, that a conspiracy of the most dangerous nature was in existence; and that to withdraw himself from the consequences was the sole motive of his leaving Paris. His Majesty's assertion would have been sufficient, with the attestation of Bose, Thierry, and those to whom he had shown the letter, to have convinced the most incredulous of the public.

Four days after this event, M. de Malesherbes² came to

² Whatever may be justly said in condemnation of the Parlements of France, it cannot be denied that they produced an extraordinary number of great Magistrates, wise, tolerant and statesmanlike. High in the list of these stands the name of Chretien Guillaum de Lamoignon de Malesherbes, born 6th December 1721, of a long line of the "Noblesse de la Robe."

He succeeded his father, the Chancellor de Lamoignon as "President of the 'Cour du Aides'" (Court of the Exchequer) in 1750 and at the same time became Director of Printing. This office he held for thirteen years, during which period he did everything in his power to lighten the burden of the censureship, and to assist authors and literature. It was to his patronage and active co-operation that the great French Encyclopædia was mainly due.

His tenure of this office, which he resigned in 1763, was christened by Voltaire, Rousseau and other great authors as the Golden Age of Letters.

During the period of the "Maupeou Parliament" Malesherbes lived

my house at nine o'clock in the morning, and told me that he wished to speak to me on a very serious subject, which particularly interested the King, and in which he had been applied to, because he was supposed to have always kept up a correspondence with his Majesty; adding, that notwithstanding of his having declared that this was a mistake, still they had persisted to inform him, in the hopes that he would find means of acquainting the King.

The veneration which M. de Malesherbes has engrafted on his memory, by his generous defence of the King, which cost him and his family their lives, strongly induces me to give the whole of an extract I kept of this conversation, which is interesting, from the characteristic peculiarities it contains of

in retirement, from which he was summoned to emerge by Louis XVI., who restored to him his post as President of the "Cour des Aides." In 1775 he was appointed Minister of the King's Household, which he accepted on the condition that no *Lettres de Cachet*, condemning any person to arbitrary imprisonment should be issued during his term of office. He resigned after Turgot's dismissal, on the 12th May 1776. Again appointed Minister, without a portfolio in 1787, he resigned in 1788 and for several years travelled in Germany, Switzerland and the Netherlands, studying the political, social and agricultural conditions of each country. He returned to France in 1792. When the Decree was passed ordering the trial of Louis XVI. he wrote a letter to the Convention offering himself as the King's advocate. In the course of this letter he said, "I was twice called to the Council of him who was then my master, at a time when all the world coveted that honour; and I owe him the same service now when it has become one which many would reckon dangerous."

His defence of the King, in concert with Touchet and Deseze, is sufficiently described in these Memoirs. Malesherbes thus describes in his Journal, his last interview with Louis XVI. "I now beheld for the last time this unfortunate Monarch. Two Municipal officers were seated at his side. He also was seated and was engaged in reading a book. One of the officers said to me, 'Speak freely, we will not listen.' I then assured the King that the priest whom he desired to see, was in attendance. The King embraced me and said, 'I am not at all afraid of death and I have the fullest confidence in the mercy of God.' In speaking to the Abbe Edgeworth (see Vol. II., p. 306), after the death of Louis, Malesherbes expressed his convic-

that venerable martyr to humanity and loyalty. All who have been acquainted with M. de Malesherbes must remember, that the subject on which he was the most eager to speak was that on which he spoke the least. Few men had read and meditated more, and few retained more of what they had read, than him. His head was full of ideas, anecdotes, and knowledge of various kinds, which his vivacity prevented him from arranging. His conversation might be compared to the continual and irregular overflowing of a vessel of boiling liquor. During my Ministry, he once desired a meeting with me, to recommend the husband of his granddaughter for a particular office. Our conversation continued an hour, during which he spoke of a thousand different subjects, but not a word of his grandson. He was taking his leave, when I put him in mind, that in the note he had sent, desiring this rendezvous, he had

tion that the murderers dare not touch a hair of my gray head. Neither he, nor anyone else could foresee the Terror. He retired to his country house, where he continued to occupy himself with agriculture, in which he had always taken a keen interest. Then he was arrested early in December 1793, and imprisoned, first at the Madelonnettes, afterwards at Port Libre (Port Royal). On the 22nd April 1794, he was brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal. According to custom he was accompanied by all the members of his family on whom Fougier Tinville could lay his hands. These were his eldest daughter, widow M. Le Peletier de Rosambo, who had been guillotined two days earlier, the sister of Le Peletier, the Marquis of Chateaubriand and his wife, Malesherbes' youngest daughter, aged 23. On his way to the Court, Malesherbes stumbling on the stairs, remarked with a smile, "That is a bad omen, a Roman would have turned and gone home." The indictment was the usual one and charged all the prisoners with conspiracy against the Republic and with corresponding with Émigrés. Malesherbes' sole defence was confined to the words, "There should at least be some common sense in an indictment."

These are the two last recorded utterances of Malesherbes. With fifteen other victims (one of whom had been summoned as a witness and promptly transferred to the dock) he was guillotined on the afternoon of his trial, 22nd April 1794. At the date of his death, he was aged 72.

hinted that he wished to talk to me concerning one of his near relations.

"I went yesterday," continued M. Malesherbes, "to M. de Montmorin, and acquainted him with this whole affair: but he has sent me to you. The business, in short, is this: Two persons, whose names I must not mention, having given my word of honour that I would not, came to me yesterday morning, and told me, after a long preamble unnecessary to repeat, that the chiefs of that party, who had, at present, the most influence, had charged them to inform me, under a promise of secrecy, that in a very few days an insurrection would take place; that the people of Paris, headed by the Marseillais, and supported by the National Guard, would march in a body against the Tuileries; that the King's life was in the utmost danger; that even if he escaped the sword of the assassins, it would be impossible for the Assembly to save him, and appease the populace any other way than by dethroning him; that the King had no other means of oversetting this horrible plot than by recalling Roland, Clavière, and Servan directly to the Ministry; and that every person interested in him ought to advise him to adopt that measure."

I told M. de Malesherbes that the King had received the same information and proposition from three considerable deputies of the Assembly; that he had rejected it with disdain; and that I had no doubt but that he would do the same to this new proposal.

"I do not say that it is my opinion he ought to do otherwise," said M. de Malesherbes, with his usual vivacity; "I am very glad that I am not to advise him in this matter: but if the King required of me to give him my advice, it would be to act as he has done; for thus much I may say, without betraying the secret entrusted to me, that the warmth with which this affair was mentioned to me seemed to arise from

a source no way connected with any anxiety for the King. I do not doubt but there is some dirty finance business under it, and that Clavière has promised a great deal of money to these gentlemen. However I thought the circumstances too serious to be concealed from his Majesty. I did not know that he had received the letter you speak of. It is what I never should have imagined. The poor King! how I pity him! He will hardly, I fear, escape these villains; and it is much to be regretted, for he is undoubtedly a worthy and most honourable Prince. But you have probably remarked one thing, M. Bertrand, that in certain situations, such as the present, for example, the virtues of private life, carried a certain length, become almost vices upon a Throne. They may be excellent for the next world. I am willing to believe so: but they are of no value here. This reflection is melancholy: but, alas! it is too just. So I find that you have kept up a correspondence with our good King. I am glad of it. You are happy in being young enough to be useful to him. As for me, I am too old to serve him: but ever since I had the opportunity of appreciating his good qualities, I have been warmly attached to him. I go constantly to the levee every Sunday, although I hate to dress, and, above all, to wear this confounded sword, which contrives continually to get betwixt my legs, and I fear will one day or other be the cause of my breaking my neck. But I wear it every Sunday notwithstanding, because my greatest comfort through the whole week is the recollection that I had seen the worthy Prince in good health. I never press near enough to be spoken to: but that does not signify; it is satisfaction enough to have seen him, and he appears to be always very well pleased to see me. He always treated me with peculiar kindness when I was in office. He was sometimes entertained with my anecdotes. You must have been much surprised to see

how much his character rises on being known, and how greatly he has been misrepresented by those who are unacquainted with him. I never knew a person of a sounder understanding. Have you not observed, that in the Council he never mistakes the best opinion? Let me assure you, that is very uncommon. Do not you imagine, that if he had had the same kind of education that we have had; if he had been habituated, as we were, to overcome natural diffidence by public exercises in the college, he would easily have become a great King? for you know that excessive timidity is his principal failing. And even as he is, I am convinced that, with good Ministers, his reign would have been one of the happiest of our Monarchy; for it is impossible to love virtue more, or to have a greater desire of doing good than he has. What do you think?"

"I think, sir," answered I, "that it would have been fortunate for him if he had always had Ministers such as you."

"Not so fortunate as you imagine," answered the good old man. "No, no; do not deceive yourself. I was a very bad Minister. Indeed, I never wished for power, nor to be a Minister. I was pushed into that situation I cannot well tell why, nor how: but I suspect it was owing to a reputation greatly above my merit, and for which I was indebted to accidental circumstances. I told both the King and M. Turgot, that they could not possibly make a worse choice, for I was too old; my poor faculties began to be exhausted; that all I could now offer for his Majesty's service was integrity and *bonhomie*, two qualities insufficient of themselves to constitute even an indifferent Minister. All I could urge was to no purpose. Everybody persisted, and I was obliged to yield. But the day on which I was relieved of that burden appeared to me the happiest of my life. I do not pretend to say that I could have supported it much better when I was

young. My head was too ardent. I was always fond of study, or rather of studies; for I attempted a variety at once: but I always hated what is called business, because it requires a kind of steady application that I could not bear. Although well acquainted with books, I was ignorant of men, and a stranger to the ways of the Court; and without a complete knowledge of both, it is impossible for a man of probity, who regards reputation, to remain in the administration. Do you know that one of the most fatal defects of our Government is, that it is impossible for the King, let him be ever so well disposed, to be certain, when he names a Minister, that he has made a good choice? He has no means of investigating the talents and capacities of those who are proposed to him, but is forced to trust to the account he receives from the people about him. And it frequently happens, that a person is recommended to him as a man of talents, who has none but those for intrigue, and who is capable of little else besides bestowing places and pensions on the creatures of the favourite, or of some particular lady of the Court; perhaps, the mistress of one of the Princes, or Ministers. The reign of such Ministers, it is true, is but of short duration: but those who succeed, being chosen in the like manner, are seldom any better, and sometimes worse. What I have said of the Ministers, may be also said of all who are appointed to any place or employment of smaller importance. In this manner governments are overset, and revolutions brought on. I know that the defect I have mentioned does not necessarily adhere to our government; and without altering any part of the Constitution, it would be possible to prevent intrigue and favour from influencing, in any manner, the nomination to places and employments; and all that is requisite for bringing about this important alteration, would be to re-establish, with some improvements, the ancient form of election, and to

extend it to all the places and offices of importance in the government; which the King might do, if he pleased to insist with firmness upon it. But there lies the difficulty. Nothing is more rare than firmness of resolution in Kings. But in your company I forget myself. I make you lose your time. You are going, no doubt, to write to his Majesty; in case he should happen to alter his resolution, respecting the recalling of the three Ministers, you will be so good as to send me word."

The moment M. de Malesherbes left me, I set down this conversation, which gives so just an idea of the goodness, candour, and integrity of that honourable and excellent man. He remained with me nearly two hours. I have only retrenched the too flattering eulogiums he was pleased to bestow upon me, and the episodes and numerous anecdotes with which his conversation was interspersed.

I gave the King an account of the alarming information which I had received from M. de Malesherbes, and informed his Majesty, at the same time, that I should receive, in the course of the day, the whole of the 600,000 livres which I had undertaken to procure for him; and that I was already in possession of 400,000 livres of that sum. The King wrote the following answer in the margin of my letter:

"I can never alter my determination respecting the proposal made me by the chiefs of the Gironde party; but I am not the less affected by the zeal which M. de Malesherbes has manifested, and I desire you will tell him so. To-morrow I shall send you, by M. de ———, my receipt for the 600,000 livres. You will write on the receipt the amount of the interest, according to the conditions on which the money was lent."

Accordingly the very next day M. de ——— brought me the receipt, dated the 29th of July. He had another for a million of livres, which he was to deliver to M. de Montmorin.

I informed M. de Malesherbes of the answer I had received from the King; and four days after I was acquainted, that a meeting had been held at Charenton, composed of the most violent Revolutionists in the Assembly, and of the Jacobins; that the projected insurrection was ultimately fixed for the 9th or 10th of August; that after having plundered the Palace, and forced the King to take refuge in the Assembly, the populace were to demand his deposition in a style so threatening that the Assembly would not dare to refuse.

The chiefs of the Gironde faction, who had planned the insurrection, did not at that time intend to upset the Monarchy; their design was to dethrone the King, and make the Crown pass to his son, and to establish a Council of Regency, which they would have composed of their creatures, over whom they would always have had sufficient influence to obtain whatever money or employments they demanded. But as they knew that it is easier to excite a violent insurrection, than to moderate it, or prescribe its bounds, so as to obtain the precise object they had in view, they were ready to relinquish their plan, on condition that the King would have agreed to recall the three Ministers, who were too much devoted to them to have refused them anything; from which motive they wrote to his Majesty, and applied to M. de Malesherbes.

M. Lefort was only expected from Normandy on the 5th of August. I went the day before to M. de Montmorin's, to settle matters ultimately for the King's departure. I there found Messrs. de Clermont Tonnerre, Malouet, and Lally Tolendal, who were in the secret. It was agreed upon that Messrs. Montmorin and Clermont Tonnerre should each furnish a coach drawn by two horses, in which they were to come to M. de La Porte's to supper on the evening fixed upon for the departure of the royal family; that M. de Montmorin and I were each of us to send four good horses to Pierrefite,

a small village half a league beyond St. Denis, where a friend of mine was to go on horseback to wait the King's arrival, and then to set off immediately to give notice to the officers commanding the posts of the Swiss Guard all along the road to Triel. He was provided, as well as myself, with a passport for the interior parts of the Kingdom. I advised M. de Montmorin to get one immediately.

"It is rather a passport for the other world that I stand in need of," said he, with a look so very mournful, that it made me shudder.

"What do you mean?" said I, looking at him with inquietude. "Do you feel yourself unwell?"

"Not at all," answered he: "but I am convinced that all those precautions are useless; for I am persuaded I shall never escape those who are determined to have my life."

"How can you have such a conviction?" answered I. "I have the same enemies with you. They are even more enraged against me, yet I believe I shall escape."

"I hope you will," replied he: "but as for myself, I am convinced that I shall be assassinated in less than three months."

"I cannot, indeed, answer for what may happen," said I, "if you give yourself so much up to those dismal ideas, as to take no precaution against the danger which hangs over us all."

"Precautions are useless," said he. "I have long had this presage. I submit to my fate: but I shall, to my latest breath, employ every means in my power to save the King, if it be yet possible to save him."

"Yes, undoubtedly it is possible," said I; "unless he allows himself to be discouraged by presages also."

"Be assured," answered M. de Montmorin, "that it is not

courage in which I am deficient. I now fear death much less than I do life."

This sad impression had taken such deep root in his mind, that all I could say to dissipate it, was in vain; and I only obtained his promise that he would procure a passport for himself before the end of the day

PRIVATE MEMOIRS OF

CHAPTER XII

Return of M. Lefort from Normandy.—I transmit his report to the King, begging that his Majesty would fix on the day of his departure as soon as possible, and to give the necessary orders to the commanding officer of the Swiss, that he would carefully burn all papers relative to the secret expenses of the Civil List.—The King changes his resolution.—My representation on that subject.—The King's answer.—The Queen's prejudices against the Duke of Liancourt.—His conduct towards the King.—A project of Madame Staël.—Tenth of August.—M. d'Hervilly.

ON the first Sunday in August I went to the Levee, according to my usual custom, in spite of the extreme difficulty I found in walking, upon account of an abscess in my thigh.

The Court was never more brilliant, or rather never more numerous, than on that day. The inquietude which the King and Queen's situation inspired, and the grief, from the idea that it might be the last time they should ever see their sovereign, was strongly expressed in the countenances of many present. I could not long support this affecting scene. I left the Palace, my eyes running over with tears; yet I was far from imagining, at that moment, that I had seen the royal family for the last time.

M. Lefort arrived late that same night, and came to my house next morning, being the 6th of August, at seven o'clock. He gave me the most satisfactory account of his mission. His report was contained in four pages of small writing. It was in substance as follows:

“That the situation of Gaillon was in all respects as advantageous as could be desired for a residence of a few days; that three thousand good troops would be sufficient to put

the castle out of danger from an assault; that the furniture had been sold and carried off; but in a few hours all that their Majesties would require, could be had from Rouen; that the opinion of the people in Normandy, and particularly at Rouen, was entirely in favour of the King; that the Department and Municipality were composed of worthy, reasonable people, who, in yielding to the Revolution, continued to love the King, whom they would assist as much as lay in their power, though they hoped that his Majesty would not be obliged to take refuge in Rouen, because they dreaded, above all things, having their town besieged by the Parisians; that the two Swiss regiments in Normandy were excellent, and might be trusted; that the troops of the line employed in that Department, were also well inclined to the King; that the soldiers had expressed themselves with indignation upon the insurrection of the 20th of June, and that they would not hesitate to declare openly for the King, if his Majesty was threatened with new dangers, and showed confidence in them."

After conversing upwards of an hour with M. Lefort, I sent his relation to the King, strongly urging the necessity of his Majesty's immediately fixing the day of his departure, and, at the same time, giving the necessary orders to the officers who commanded the Swiss Guard, that if things could be so ordered, that the different detachments could reach their destined posts on the 7th, the King might set out that same night, or, at farthest, the night following.

At all events I besought his Majesty to give M. d'Hervilly and me our definitive orders as soon as possible, that we might have time to arrange our respective measures, and that I might set out with M. de Montmorin, and wait for the royal family at whatever place his Majesty should appoint. I reminded the King, in this letter, of the advice which I had already given him; namely, to recommend to M. de La Porte, to burn

every paper and document relative to the secret expenses of the civil list, before his departure; for it was indispensably necessary for him to leave Paris at the same time with the royal family; it being evident, that he could not remain in Paris without the utmost danger; and that all his papers would be examined by the orders of the Assembly as soon as the King's departure should be known.

I did not doubt but that I should immediately receive an answer from the King to my letter; and I waited for it all the morning with extreme impatience. The gentleman whom I had entrusted with the letter, did not return from the Palace till one o'clock in the forenoon: he told me that the King had desired him to go back for an answer at five.

I was not alarmed at this delay, as I supposed that his Majesty only deferred the answer until he could inform me of the arrangements he had made with the commanding officer of the Swiss, and his ultimate intentions respecting various measures preparatory to his journey; but, at six o'clock, my hopes vanished, when my messenger returned from the Palace with an order from the King and Queen to suspend the preparations for their departure till farther notice; as it was their Majesties' intentions to reserve that step for the last extremity.

These fatal words were like a thunderbolt to me. "What do they mean by the last extremity?" cried I, with as much rage as despair. "Who can the idiots or traitors be, who have suggested such a pernicious resolution?"

I hurried to the house of M. de Montmorin, to inform him of this disastrous answer, and to entreat that he would go and expostulate with the King, or write that evening to him in the strongest manner; and, if possible, bring him back to the only measure which could save him.

"I could not go to the Palace at present," said he, "with-

out being remarked, and giving rise to suspicion; therefore I shall write, but without hopes of success, because I am sure that they are swayed by different counsel than ours. The King is ruined, my friend, and so are we all. You laughed at me six months ago, when I told you that it would come to a Republic: you will find that I was not deceived; I believe it is at no great distance: perhaps it will not last long; but that will depend upon the fate of the King. If he is assassinated, the Republic will certainly be of short duration; but if he shall be formally tried, and consequently condemned, you will not have the Monarchy so soon re-established. As for me, I shall never see it."

"You have still the same fatal forebodings," said I.

"Yes, undoubtedly," answered he.

"Why do you then remain in Paris?" resumed I, "if the King resolves against leaving it, you can be no longer useful to him, as you have no charge. I assure you, that if I was in your place, and affected in the manner you are, I would set off to-morrow, either with the King, if he can be prevailed upon to go, or without him, if he cannot."

"That I never will do," answered M. de Montmorin: "whatever the King's determinations are, I shall adhere to him till the last moment. I never can consent to separate my fate from his. Your situation is different; you have always been considered as a Royalist; whereas I am looked upon here as a Constitutionalist, and at Coblenz as a Jacobin. The King alone knows my conduct, my motives, and the proofs of attachment I have given him: he alone can declare that I have always served him faithfully: if that last resource is taken from me, I shall have nothing to oppose to those prejudices which would render my life insupportable; so, if he stays in Paris, I stay also, happen what may. I am now going to write to him."

M. de Montmorin accordingly wrote to the King that night; and the next day I also wrote a long letter, in which I endeavoured to paint, in the strongest colours, the inevitable catastrophe to which he not only exposed himself, but his whole family, placing in various lights the impossibility of his avoiding destruction, otherwise than by flight. I entreated his Majesty to consider that this resource was still open to him, provided that not a moment was lost; but to-morrow it would perhaps be too late. I added, that in case he had adopted another plan which he did not think proper to entrust me with, I hoped his Majesty would remember that I had only remained in France in order to serve him; and that he would, therefore, condescend to let me know by what means I could be useful to him. My letter was returned that evening with the following answer on the margin:

“I am assured, from good authority, that the insurrection is not so near as you imagine; besides, there are still means of preventing, or at least of retarding it; and I am taking measures for that purpose: it is only necessary to gain time. I have reasons for believing that there is less danger in remaining than in flight. Continue your measures of vigilance, and continue to write to me regularly.”

Soon after I went to M. de Montmorin, who had received no answer to his letter; but he was positively informed that it was the Queen who set his Majesty against the scheme of taking refuge in Gaillon, although she had at first approved of it; but her distrust of the loyalty of the Duke de Liancourt,¹ who commanded in that part of Normandy, afterwards

¹ François Alexander de la Rochefoucauld, Duke de Liancourt, afterwards Duke de La Rochefoucauld Liancourt, was, before the Revolution, as during his entire lifetime, famous as a philanthropist, social reformer and agriculturist. Before 1789, he had spent large sums on the amelioration of his property and the welfare of his tenants, and had founded a number of experimental farms which became celebrated throughout Europe. Elected as a representative

determined her against that plan. "M. Bertrand does not consider," she said, "that he is throwing us into the hands of Constitutionalists."

Besides, they had just heard that the Prussian army was in motion. Nobody doubted but that the Duke of Brunswick's plan was to march straight to Paris; and it was thought, that the French army were too weak, and too ill commanded, to resist the disciplined Germans, led by so experienced a General; and that our troops would take flight at his approach. Some private advisers of the Queen wished this too much not to believe it; and it was on these chimerical conjectures that the deluded Court founded their hopes.

With respect to the Duke de Liancourt, I had not become acquainted with him till the month of May 1792; and, till then, I never paid sufficient attention to his conduct to enable me to form any judgment of it. He sought my acquaintance, because his assiduous attendance at the Palace gave him an opportunity of knowing that I kept up a particular correspondence with the King: the object of his first visit, was to inform me of the means he had of serving his Majesty

of the Noblesse to the States-General in 1789, he took an active and practical part as a reformer, a member of what we should now call the left-centre of the Assembly. His penetrating reply to Louis XVI., on hearing of the fate of the captives of the Bastille, is well known. "Why," said the King, "this is an open insurrection —" "No, Sire," replied the Duke, "it is a revolution."

At the close of the Constituent Assembly, the Duke de Liancourt was appointed to the command of a military division in Normandy and it was while holding this post, that he did his utmost to assist the King in his last extremity.

Immediately after the 10th August, the Duke escaped to England, where he became the friend and ally of the English agricultural reformer, Arthur Young. On the 14th September 1792, his cousin, the Duke de la Rochefoucauld, a man of as high a character as himself, was brutally murdered while passing through Gisors in Normandy, and the Duke de Liancourt succeeded him in his title and in the headship of the great house of La Rochefoucauld.

in Normandy, where he was then going. He had entirely gained the confidence of the regiments under his command there, as well as of the Department and Municipality: his design was to take every opportunity of rendering the Jacobins odious, opposing republican ideas, and strengthening the attachment which prevailed in that province for the King and Constitution.

The Duke foresaw that the King would be forced to leave the capital, and Normandy appeared to him the province in which his Majesty would be likely to meet with the most cordial reception, and where he would find himself in greatest security. Besides, Normandy was the only province in which he could take refuge without passing the bounds prescribed by the Constitution. It was upon this occasion that the Duke de Liancourt told me, that if the King wanted money, as there was reason to fear would be the case, all his fortune, one hundred louis d'or a year excepted, was at his Majesty's disposal; and that by giving him notice, only a fortnight be-

Towards the end of 1792, he crossed the Atlantic and spent some years in studying the agriculture, trade and social conditions of the United States and Canada. Returning to France in 1799, he brought with him a supply of vaccine and in the next year founded a Vaccination Committee which spread the remedy throughout France. Napoleon, who consistently treated the Duke with the highest consideration, took over the Schools of Arts and Trade (*Écoles des Arts et Metiers*) which de Liancourt had founded on his own estates, and transferred them to Chalons. The Duke was appointed Inspector General of this great institution, and it was due only to his own refusal, that he held no other appointment under the Empire.

His loyalty to Louis XVI. and to the House of Bourbon met with a shameful reward. At the time of the Restoration he was a member of the Councils of Manufacturing, Agriculture, Prisons and Hospitals. He was created a Peer of France, but in consequence of his voting against the Government, he was deprived of all the offices I have mentioned above, and was treated throughout the remainder of his life with an astonishing ingratitude and meanness. He died suddenly at the age of 80, while actually sitting in the House of Peers, on the 27th March 1827.



Madame Élisabeth

forehand, he could furnish a million of livres at least. The air of surprise with which I listened to this proposal, affected him.

“You perhaps imagine as many others have done,” said he, “that I am a democrat, because I sat on the Left in the Assembly; but the King knows my motives for not being of the Right; and I acted with his approbation. I could have been of no use to him in uniting myself to the aristocratic party; an individual, more or less, would neither have rendered it stronger nor weaker. But, by gaining the confidence of the Left, I had the means of knowing something of the projects of the Jacobins, and giving information to his Majesty. I do not say that I did not desire some reformatations in the government, which I thought would be useful; but I never wished for a Revolution; and, although I was always of the Left, I defy any one to say that I ever supported a violent motion, or endeavoured to carry a decree contrary to the King’s real interest and legal authority, which I always distinguished from the bad use his Ministers often made of it. I was blamed for having prevented the King from going off on the 14th of July 1789, and for advising him to go to the Assembly; but who could have foreseen the fatal consequences of that measure? and these consequences may be, in a great degree, attributed to the many false and weak steps which accompanied it, in which I had no part. I advised his Majesty, on that occasion, to the plan which, in his situation, I would have adopted myself; and, if I was deceived, the fault is in my judgment, but, assuredly, not in my heart, which, the King knows, was, and ever will be sincerely his.”

I listened to this discourse of the Duke of Liancourt with pleasure; and I can declare, and I ought to declare, because it is truth, that in the whole course of my acquaintance with

him, I have ever found his conduct consistent with the sentiments he then expressed. His zeal for the royal cause, and personal attachment to the King, were invariable. I saw him shed tears for the fate of that unfortunate Prince a year after his death: he seemed entirely engrossed by the desire of justifying his memory. But no proof of attachment on the part of the Duke de Liancourt can raise surprise after his having sacrificed his personal consideration, and the good opinion of almost all persons of his own rank, by placing himself on the Left of the first Assembly, merely from a desire of being useful to the King. It is true that I have no proof of this but his own word, and the firmness with which he invoked the King's testimony, desiring me to inform myself from his Majesty; but I never spoke to the King upon the subject, because it did not appear, at least at that time, that he harboured any doubts respecting the sincerity and loyalty of M. de Liancourt. I thought at the time, and still continue to believe, that the Queen's prepossessions against that nobleman, whether well founded or not, were a great misfortune, since they were the cause of her rejecting the only measure which could have prevented that dreadful catastrophe, which has proved so shocking to humanity, and so injurious to the honour of France.

The necessity of the King's departure from Paris was so generally felt, that various plans of evasion were sent to his Majesty; even Madame de Staël, whether in the hopes of expiating the mischief she had, without intending it no doubt, done to the royal family by her intrigues, or, perhaps, from an itch of intriguing again, invented a plan for his Majesty's escape, which she communicated to M. de Montmorin in a letter that she showed me. The plan was as follows: The estate of La Motte,² on the coast of Normandy, belonging to

² See note 3 of Chapter X.

the Duke of Orleans, was at this time to be sold. Madame de Staël proposed that she should publicly give out that she intended to purchase it; and on this pretext, that she should make frequent journeys to that place, always in the same carriage, and accompanied in the same manner; namely, a man of business, of the same size and shape with the King, dressed in a grey coat and a round periwig; a waiting-woman of the size and appearance of the Queen, having her face partly concealed under a large bonnet, with a black gauze veil; a child of the age and figure of the Dauphin; and a footman on horseback. This last part was destined for M. de Narbonne. When these repeated journeys had accustomed the masters of the post-houses and the postillions on the road to the appearance of Madame de Staël and her travelling companions, so that they should no longer excite much attention, she proposed that the places of the man of business, the waiting-woman, and the child, should be occupied by the King, Queen, and Dauphin, in the hopes that the three latter, passing for the former, would arrive safely at the castle of La Motte, where a fishing vessel should be in readiness to transport them where they pleased.

The only preparation she recommended, in case her plan was adopted, was to provide the bonnet and round wig; and she made it an essential article that M. de Narbonne should be included in the enterprise, because she considered his zeal and intelligence as necessary to insure its success. No provision was made for the safety of the Princess Royal nor Madame Elizabeth: but indeed Madame de Staël could hardly suppose that those Princesses would be exposed to any danger by remaining in Paris.

This plan appeared to M. de Montmorin equally dangerous, romantic, and inconsistent with propriety; he therefore never mentioned it to the King, in the fear that his Majesty, who

regarded Madame de Staël as extremely romantic and extravagant, would be ready to reject every future plan of escape as wild and extravagant, merely because a similar measure had been proposed by her.

I have no doubt that at the time I received the order from his Majesty to suspend the measures for his departure, he seriously thought of adopting another plan, which appeared so full of danger to Madame Elizabeth, that she sent the Baron de Gilliers to me on the 8th of August, at eleven o'clock at night, to know if I was the author of it; and to request, in that case, that I would immediately put a stop to it. By what the Baron de Gilliers said, I found that this plan was different from mine. I therefore desired he would tell Madame Elizabeth from me, that, being convinced the King's departure was necessary, I had proposed a plan which I was sure would not have alarmed her: but that his Majesty, after having consented to adopt it, had, to my great affliction, changed his mind, and taken a determination against leaving Paris.

I have since learned, that the plan that had alarmed Madame Elizabeth so greatly consisted in the royal family's escaping immediately to Compiègne, to enable them, in case of necessity, to withdraw out of the Kingdom by the forest of the Ardennes and the principality of Beaumont. The Count d'Hervilly, who was continually near the person of the King, had been acquainted, before I was, of his repugnance to the plan of escape by Gaillon, and his ardour to serve their Majesties had suggested to him this new scheme, which was known and agreed to at Coblenz, by the intermediation of a man of the first rank, who had gone on purpose, and who, passing through Brussels on his return, had the indiscretion to mention it to a certain person, who, the very next day, made the whole be published in the Brussels Gazette, and thus prevented the possibility of its execution. I do not presume to

make any comment on this singular incident, which is of too serious a nature to name the person, as I have only proofs of the fact, without knowing the motives.

Nothing could be more alarming than the continual reports I received at this time from Buob and Gilles, concerning the state of the capital, and of the projects and manœuvres of the Jacobins. Already the day, the hour, and the plan of the insurrection were fixed. The King was perfectly well informed of this, yet still flattered himself that he should be able to prevent it, or make his escape. I have been since informed, that a negotiation had been set on foot with Brissot, and that as late as the 9th of August, an agent (Tourteau de Septeuil), authorised by the King, was still debating on the terms proposed by that villain, who demanded no less, for preventing the execution of the conspiracy, than 12,000,000 livres in specie or in letters of exchange, and a passport to secure his safe retreat out of the Kingdom. It is possible that these terms might have been gone into, if the sum he demanded had been in the coffer of the civil list; and it is more than probable that he would have carried the greater part of it out of the Kingdom, and that the insurrection would only have been deferred a few days.

My complaint having increased, I could neither walk nor endure the motion of a carriage on the 9th of August: but one of my friends, who was at the Palace the whole day, gave me an exact account of everything that passed there,³ and

³ The march on the Tuileries on the 10th August was much more carefully and elaborately planned than that of the 20th June. An Insurrectionary Committee, in which Danton, Camille Desmoulins, Santerre, Lazouski, Westermann and many others whose names appear in every insurrectionary movement, formed itself and met repeatedly with so little concealment that all Paris, including the King and his counsellors, knew that a second attempt was about to be made, and were able to make such preparations as they could to meet it. The central point of the whole scheme of this Committee was the

of all the measures taken for the security of the royal family. Those battalions of National Guard, who were on duty at the Palace, were extremely well disposed to the King. Their commanders and officers were entirely devoted to him. The Swiss Guard also were of approved bravery and fidelity. Those troops were reinforced by gentlemen and Royalists of

replacement of the Municipality of Paris, which contained many peaceful, respectable citizens, by a body of Jacobins ready for any violence or atrocity. This was effected then.

The decree of the "Country in Danger" on the 11th July ordered all the constituted authorities to sit permanently. The Sections of Paris were simply electoral bodies and in no sense a constituted authority; nevertheless they found no difficulty in obtaining from the Assembly on the 26th July a decree authorising them to sit in permanence. The Sections representing the respectability of Paris took no advantage of this permission, but those which were given over to Jacobin domination used the powers granted them to sit night after night, passing petitions for the King's dethronement and devising plans in concert with the Insurrectionary Committee for the coming rising. One of these measures was to appoint Commissioners to advise and assist the General Council of the Municipality. These Commissioners were permitted by Pétion to join the Council and so gained experience and a sort of semi-legal position in the Hotel de Ville.

Under the cover of this position, the Sections of the Quinze-Vingty, Mancouseil, Gravilliers and the Lombards, representing the poorest and most disinterested districts of Paris, passed resolutions during the night of the 9th August, each naming three Commissioners to assist the Municipality in saving the state.

Among these were such men as Rossignal, Huguenin, Leonard Bourdon, l'Huillier, Truchon, Simon, Lenfant, Duffort and other subordinate creatures of the Jacobin and Cordelier Clubs. Later on when all danger was passed, they were joined by Pétion, Danton, Manuel, Camille Desmoulins, Marat, Robespierre and Billaud-Varenne. Meanwhile the original Commissioners, some of whom were elected by five or six members of a Section, others appointed by themselves, made their way to the Hotel de Ville; quietly took possession of a room next to that in which the Legal Council of the Commune was sitting; and constituted themselves, by appointing Huguenin as their President and Tallien as their Secretary.

As the night wore on, the members of the real Council dropped out of sight; many returned to their homes; others joined the Insurrec-

every rank, whom the danger of the royal family drew in crowds to the Tuileries. This united force would certainly have been able to have defended it until the arrival of the three thousand Swiss from Courbevoie, if they had received timely orders to set off. But even on the 10th, when they *were* sent for, if the King had remained in the Palace until their arrival,

tionary Commune and thus the power passed from the legal to the illegal body. To this movement is to be attributed the complete success of the march of the Insurgents on the Tuileries.

At the Tuileries itself the ministers, a small body of loyal officers of the Department of the Seine, and Pétion, Mayor of Paris, were both in attendance. Pétion managed to escape by the connivance of his friends in the Assembly, who passed a resolution summoning him to give information on the insurrection. He drove away, assured the deputies that the defence was in perfect order, and then placed himself in custody at the Mairie and was seen no more. The Commander General of the National Guard during this month was Mandat, an ex-officer of the Garde Française.

His main reliance was on the Swiss Guard. These troops had been removed from Paris to their barracks at Courbevoie and Rueil by order of the Assembly on the 17th July. About eight hundred of them were ordered back to defend the Tuileries on the 8th August. In addition to these thoroughly trustworthy soldiers, Mandat had under his command a strong body of National Guards, selected from the most loyal battalions, but armed only with a single round of ball cartridges. Twelve battalions of these were posted in the gardens of the Tuileries, five others in the most vulnerable approaches to the château; while a strong body of the artillery of the National Guard, protected the Pont-neuf, the bridge by which the insurgents from the Saint Marceau Section were expected to cross the river. Had the Guard been faithful, and had Mandat not been treacherously lured away, the defence of the Tuileries would have been amply sufficient to repel any possible attack. The first object of the Insurrectionary Committee was to defeat Mandat's scheme of defending the bridges. This they succeeded in doing by sending Osselin and two other members of the Commune with orders to the gunners to withdraw their guns. The gunners, always on the Revolutionary side, obeyed, notwithstanding the remonstrances of their officers. At 6 a. m. the King, accompanied by the Queen and a small escort, passed to the gardens to review the National Guard. He had spent the night lying fully dressed on a sofa and now appeared in his evening clothes, instead of in the national uniform. His wig was untrimmed, his

which would have taken place soon after he went to the National Assembly, he might have repelled the insurrection of that fatal day; but giving way to solicitations, perhaps perfidious, unquestionably unfortunate, he sought an asylum among those who were preparing a prison, chains, and death for him and his family.

dress awry and his whole appearance forlorn and desolate. The loyal battalion received him with cries of "Vive le Roi," but there were many, including the gunners, who jeered at and insulted him as he passed through their ranks.

On their return the Queen said mournfully, "All is lost. The King has shown no energy. This review has done more harm than good."

The decisive event of the day occurred immediately after this review, when Mandat received an order, signed by Pétion, to attend the Municipality and give information on his plans of defence. Mandat accordingly obtained permission from the King to absent himself for a short time, and set out for the Hotel de Ville. A few trivial questions were asked him by the members of the legal Commune, after which, as he turned to depart, he was seized, dragged before the Insurrectionary Committee; commanded to sign an order for the withdrawal of the Swiss and to give exact information as to the strength and position of the National Guard. He refused to do either, and was informed that the Municipality had determined to supersede him and to appoint Santerre (the leader of the attack) to succeed him in the defence. He was forthwith murdered on the steps of the Tuileries. His absence paralyzed the defence and when the news reached the garden and the château, the National Guard in the gardens showed every sign of flinching. A yelling crowd now surrounded them, while the news of the approach of the National Guard of the Faubourgs St. Antoine and St. Marceau spread panic throughout their ranks. It was at this crisis that Roederer, in his capacity as one of the highest authorities of the Department of the Seine, intervened. I abridge the following account of this momentous interference from his "*Chroniques de cinquante Jours*," published, in his own defence, in 1831. "The King was seated near a table, his hands resting on his knees; while the Queen, Madame Elizabeth and the Ministers were standing between the King and the window. I said, 'Sire, you have not five minutes to spare. There is no longer any safety for you but in the National Assembly. The Department is of opinion that you should proceed thither without delay. You have not a sufficient force for the defence of the Palace and your troops are not well disposed; the gunners have drawn the charges from

I shall not here go over the events of that day of blood, every moment of which was marked with innumerable crimes. They are too well known, and the recollection is too shocking to be dwelt upon. One circumstance may serve as a proof of the illusion in which the Queen was, with respect to her situation, even when she was in the Reporters' Gallery. When

their guns.' 'But,' replied the King, 'I do not see any great crowd inside the Carousel.' 'Sire, there are twelve guns coming and an enormous mass is pouring down from the Faubourgs.' 'But, sir,' said the Queen, 'we have a considerable force.' 'Madame, all Paris is against you,' I replied, and turning to the King, I went on with warmth, 'Sire, every moment is precious. It is no longer a request we are making, or advice that we are offering; we have no choice left, we must take you by force, you must allow us respectfully to do so.' The King lifted his head, looked steadily at me for a few moments and then turned to the Queen and said, 'We must go.' He rose. Madame Elizabeth passed behind me and said, 'Will you answer, M. Roederer, for the King's life?' 'Yes, Madame, with my own.'"

A procession was then formed, headed by Roederer, followed by the King, the Queen with the Prince Royal, her daughter, Madame Elizabeth, the Princess de Lamballe, the Duchess de Tourzel and the six ministers. As they passed through the Tuileries Gardens, they were almost within sight of the murder of Saleau by the termagant Theroyen de Merincourt. On his arrival in the Assembly Louis uttered the last public words spoken by him as King—"Gentlemen, I have come here to avoid a great crime, and I do not think I can be anywhere more safe than in your midst." Here we leave the Royal Family. They remained in the reporters' box, a small apartment only twelve feet square, during the forty-eight hours which sealed the fate of the French Monarchy.

Shortly after the King left the Tuileries, the combined forces of the Saint Antoine Faubourg, led by Santerre of the Faubourg Saint Marceau and the Marseillais, arrived at the Tuileries. Bertrand's account of the action of the Swiss Guard, who, alone, were left to oppose them, and of the manner in which this gallant defence was turned into a massacre, is so complete and vivid that it needs no comment. Whether or no the Swiss Guard would have driven back the mob of the Faubourgs, had they been allowed to do so, is still matter of controversy. Roederer, in the book from which I have already quoted, says, "In December 1813, Napoleon told me that he was present at the invasion of the Tuileries. 'As an Artillery officer,

the cannon were firing upon the Palace, and in the midst of the ferocious petitions for dethroning the King, her Majesty, relying upon the President's speech to the King, at his entrance, turned to Count d'Hervilly,⁴ who was standing behind her, and said,

"Well, M. d'Hervilly, were we not in the right not to go away?"

"I wish, with all my heart, Madame," answered he, "that your Majesty may be of the same opinion six months hence."

M. d'Hervilly had more than one occasion, on that fatal day, of displaying the heroic courage and energy of character for which he was so eminently distinguished. Danger entirely disappeared before his eyes, as often as any opportunity presented itself which enabled him to prove his zeal and attachment to the King. That coolness and intrepidity will be long remembered which this gentleman manifested at the awful moment when the cannon were firing on the Palace, which was defended only by that detachment of the Swiss Guard which had not received the orders not to fire, that had been left by the King when he went to the National Assembly. The fire continuing, many of the deputies betrayed marks of consternation at the long resistance, and complained

sir?' I asked. 'No,' he replied, 'as an amateur. The Swiss served their artillery with the greatest vigour. They drove the Marseillais back as far as the Rue de l'Echelle in ten minutes and only turned from the pursuit when they received the King's order to retire.'"

⁴ Louis Charles, Count d'Herville, was the Colonel in command of the cavalry of the King's Constitutional Guard on the 10th August 1792. After the adventure described here, he escaped to England. In June 1795, he commanded a corps of French Émigrés during the Quiberon Expedition. The disastrous result of this attempt to effect a landing in Brittany was due in great measure to the dissensions which arose between himself and Count Puisaye, the nominal chief of the expedition. Count d'Herville returned to England and died in London in November 1795, in consequence of the wounds he had received and of his disappointment at the failure of the campaign.

that orders had not been given to the Swiss not to fire; on which one of the Ministers declared, that an order to that effect had been given. It was immediately required, on all sides, that this order might be renewed: but it was observed, that it would be impossible to convey such an order to the Palace, upon account of the continued fire on the part of the besieged and the besiegers. The King, who flattered himself that this new proof of his goodness and confidence in the Assembly would induce it to treat him with more consideration, was much afflicted at the obstacle which prevented his sending the order. M. d'Hervilly, being in the Reporters' Gallery with the royal family, was convinced, that in coming there, the King had taken the worst step possible, that he would certainly be dethroned, and very possibly murdered, immediately offered to carry the order; determined, at the same time, to make use of it in the manner most conducive to the safety of the royal family. The King and Queen were greatly affected at this proof of attachment; but, unwilling to expose the life of one of their most valuable and faithful servants, they seized his arms, to prevent him from withdrawing, pressing his hands affectionately in theirs. Madame Elizabeth was impressed with the same sentiments; and all three, with tears in their eyes, entreated him not to go. M. d'Hervilly, whose zeal was only the more animated by such distinguishing marks of regard, renewed his demand with earnestness.

"I entreat your Majesties not to think of my danger," said he; "it is my duty to brave it for your service. My post is with the guns, and if I feared them, I should be unworthy of the name of a soldier."

These words, pronounced in a manner the most capable of inspiring confidence, and the murmurs which the King's irresolution excited in the Assembly, at length determined his Majesty to write the order, and deliver it to M. d'Hervilly.

M. de Vauzlemont, a young officer of the artillery, full of courage and ardour, who had belonged to the King's guard under the command of M. d'Hervilly, was at the door of the *loge*, and a witness to the above scene. He was that day in the uniform of the National Grenadiers, which he always wore on those occasions, when he thought it most expedient for the King's service. This gallant young man begged to be permitted to accompany his commanding officer, and to share his dangers: but M. d'Hervilly expressly forbid him, saying that his post was at the door of the King's lodge, which he ought not to quit. In spite of this, he persisted in following M. d'Hervilly, and showed himself worthy of being his companion. When they arrived at the door of the hall, next to the convent of the Theatins, the National Guard and armed mob, there assembled, recognising M. d'Hervilly by his uniform of Marechal de Camp, seized and began to insult him with horrid imprecations. M. de Vauzlemont, who was listened to upon account of his uniform, assured them that M. d'Hervilly was the bearer of an order to the Swiss Guard to give over firing. They let him go, on his showing them his order.

"Look sharp after him, comrade," said they to M. de Vauzlemont, "for you shall answer for him."

This danger was nothing in comparison to those which still awaited M. d'Hervilly. Hardly had he gained the street than he met a detachment of the National Guard and of the sections, who, as soon as they knew him, fired upon him, but fortunately without injuring him. When he had gone on about two hundred paces farther, he was again fired at, and had again the good luck to escape. At the entry into the Carousel, he was seized upon by two of the National Guard. He knocked one to the ground; the other ran off, after thrusting a bayonet, which he had in his hand, into M. d'Hervilly's thigh, and leaving it there. M. d'Hervilly having plucked it

out, proceeded, notwithstanding the wound, to the court of the Swiss, always accompanied by M. de Vauzlemont. They were for a moment exposed to a cross fire of musketry and grape-shot from the Palace and Carousel, and arrived unhurt at the court of the Swiss, whose courage seemed to be reanimated by the sight of M. d'Hervilly, who, instead of making any mention of the King's order, immediately began to examine how he could best prolong the defence of that place, so as to gain time for the Royalists within the Palace to join the Swiss, who were in number about two hundred and fifty, and whom, he expected, might still be joined by the well-disposed National Guard, and, in all, make up such a force as would have enabled him to repel the insurgents, and to re-establish the royal family in the Palace. He had hopes that the majority of the Parisians would then have declared for the King, and would have expressed their abhorrence against the authors of the insurrection; in which event he would never have been blamed for not having made use of the King's order; and if matters had turned out otherwise, he alone would have been answerable, as in that case he was determined to produce the order, which would have screened his Majesty from all blame.

In pursuance of this plan, having posted the Swiss and the cannon in the most advantageous manner for defending the courts, he proceeded to the Palace, attended by M. Vauzlemont: but in a narrow passage, which led to one of the back stairs, he again escaped being killed by a pistol shot from a National Guard, who lurked in a dark corner. Having thrust his sword through the body of this cowardly assassin, he walked on: but as he ascended the stair, the tumult and horrible shrieks he heard obliged him to stop; and he was informed by a Swiss, who came down stairs, that an immense armed populace had penetrated into the Palace by the gallery of the Louvre, and were massacring every one they met in their

way. The Swiss being evidently too few to continue the defence of the Palace on the side of the Carousel, and to repel the numbers who had rushed in, M. d'Hervilly was forced to abandon his project, which would have devoted to certain death so many brave soldiers, whose numbers diminished every instant, while their courage continued unimpaired. He hastened to join them, notified the King's order, and commanded them to follow him to the National Assembly, where the King and royal family were. As the attack was made by the Carousel and Louvre, the only remaining way was by the garden of the Tuileries: but even there they had no sooner appeared than they were exposed to the fire of some cannon, and of the troops placed on the terrace. M. d'Hervilly had only sixty of these unhappy men in his suite when he returned to the Assembly, which, elated by the victory, resumed its former arrogance, and basely insulted the unfortunate Prince by the most injurious motions. The infamous Decree was passed, by which his regal functions were suspended, and he himself and his family retained as prisoners, under the name of hostages; for they were so called in the Decree.

LOUIS THE SIXTEENTH.

CHAPTER XIII.

Consequences of the insurrection of the Tenth of August.—Buob sends me word to abscond.—Buob himself is arrested.—I take refuge in the house of a democrat.—Strict search made to discover where I was.—My brothers and *valet de chambre* sent to prison.—A letter of the Princess of Rochefort, found in my house, is the cause of her being arrested.—It is asserted, at the assembly of the Section, that my hiding-place is known.

FROM the accounts which I received on the evening of the 9th of August, I expected that the Palace would be attacked before daybreak; and I desired Buob to send me hourly information of the progress of the insurrection. I did not close my eyes during the whole of that night, which I passed in the most cruel agitation. Even at half past nine, on the morning of the 10th, I had not received any news; and from the profound calm which prevailed in that part of the town I inhabited, I began to hope that the King had found means to prevent the insurrection. But these hopes were soon destroyed, on hearing the noise of the cannon. I immediately dispatched two servants towards the Carousel, by different ways, to know what was passing: but before their return, I was informed of every circumstance by one of Buob's agents, who came to me directly from the Palace, where he had passed the night; and from which he would not have been able to escape, notwithstanding his national uniform, if he had not said that he was sent by Santerre with a commission to the Municipality. He had come away immediately after the royal family had taken refuge in the Assembly. Soon after Buob sent his servant to give me notice that Manuel, the Public

Prosecutor of the Municipality, had just been invested by the Municipality with authority to keep a strict watch on the houses of all who were known to be attached to the King, that my name, and that of M. de Montmorin, were at the head of the list; that we ought therefore to leave our houses instantly, in order to escape the observation of the spies.

The very idea of flying, or concealing myself, when I had nothing to reproach myself with, was so repugnant to my feelings, that Buob's advice made the same impression on me at first, as if he had proposed to me to commit a mean action; and nothing but the pressing intreaties of all my family, joined to the consideration that I still might be useful to the King, could ever have determined me to leave my house.

I went out, leaning on my brother the chevalier Bertrand's arm (for I could not walk without assistance, on account of a complaint in my thigh), and I took refuge in the house of the commander d'Estourmel, then procureur general of the Order of Malta, who lived at about six hundred paces from my house. I met him at his door, on his return from the Palace, where he had been ever since the preceding day; having miraculously escaped the almost general massacre of noblemen and gentlemen who, like him, had gone to the King's assistance. He was pale, disordered, and without his sword. His looks expressed the deepest despair.

"All is lost," said that brave and loyal chevalier, pressing my hand. "The King is in their power, and we shall never see him more."

I had the precaution, in the beginning of August, to burn every paper and document which might have exposed the King, or those attached to his cause, to any danger; for I expected that my papers would be examined immediately after his Majesty's departure. I had only preserved my notes, which were entrusted in safe hands, under a sealed cover. With respect

to the papers regarding my private affairs, they were deposited in two large pocketbooks, which I hid in a place over the garret, without a door or windows, and to which there was access by a concealed trap-door. I commissioned my brother, however, to examine my closet a second time, and to burn all the papers he could find. I had reason to congratulate myself on having had this precaution, when I heard that he found, in a writing-desk, an account of Buob's expenses from the beginning of the month, with his account of the employment of the money, which I always paid him in advance; and he never failed to join to this account his own daily report. My brother immediately burnt this, as it was of the utmost importance that no traces of this business should appear.

I sent a person of confidence to M. de Montmorin, to warn him of his danger. He had already left his house. But the brave and unfortunate Buob, whom I had entreated, by his servant, to lose no time in concealing himself, rejected this advice, from the idea that his quality of justice of peace would protect him. He was arrested, that very day, by a band of wretches whom he had formerly sent to the Bicetre, and who were now set at liberty. He was conducted to the Abbaye, where he was massacred on the 3d of September following.

I remained four days at the house of the commander d'Estourmel. Only two of my servants were informed of the place of my retreat; and my porter told all who came to inquire for me that I was gone to the country. Yet I found that I was not in safety, for unknown persons were continually observed skulking near my house; and the servant who came to dress my hair in the morning was forced to come in a circuitous manner, and stop at various places, in order to mislead the spies, one of whom was heard to assert, that it was known I was hid in that quarter. I therefore left the commander, and took refuge in the house of a surgeon (in the Rue Aubey-

le-Boucher), who had known me from my early youth, and who had always been attached to my family, particularly to one of my brothers, whom he was in the habit of seeing almost every day.

This man's understanding was none of the clearest; and his knowledge, upon any subject foreign to his profession, was extremely limited. He idolized the Constitution of 1791, without well knowing why; and although he detested the crimes of the Revolution, he attributed them more to the obstinacy of the aristocrats than to the villainy of the Jacobins; whom, however, he thought rather too violent. Pétion was his hero: but he detested Robespierre.

This man had a great regard for me, being fully convinced that I was no less attached to the Constitution than he was himself. His zeal for the Revolution, and assiduity at the assemblies of his section, had ruined his business, and thrown him into poverty: but he was a perfectly honest man, incapable of giving me up for any reward that could be offered. I had nothing to fear from the treachery or indiscretion of his family. His wife and daughter seldom went out, and both had a sincere regard and all possible attention for me.

As there were about thirty lodgers in the same house, and amongst these several patriots, more or less zealous, I recommended to my hosts to make no alterations in their manner of living; to take the same quantity and the same quality of bread and meat from their baker and butcher as usual: whatever additions were strictly necessary upon my account, might be purchased at different shops, and in the evening.

I found that I had not left my own house sooner than necessary; for the very day after I was settled in the surgeon's house, two commissaries of the Municipality, accompanied by six hundred of the National Guard, invested and searched my house from top to bottom. A large vase of porcelain,

which stood in my study, and into which I had been in the use of throwing waste papers for many years, occupied them almost eleven hours, for they insisted on reading every paper it contained. Their only discoveries, however, were a few insignificant letters from the Princess of Rochefort, which caused her to be taken up, and detained three months in prison.

They likewise found an absurd and unintelligible letter on the subject of an order denominated Knights of the Queen, which, as was pretended, had been established in Germany by some emigrants. There was in the same vase, a list of the members of the Austrian Committee, under Greek and Roman names, which was at first looked upon as the paper of the greatest importance, as it was the most mysterious. A verbal process was ordered and commenced upon the subject of this list, consisting of thirty-six names: but the commissary, on examining it more attentively, perceived that the key to the names was on the same page: that the Abbé Sièyer was Calchas; Brissot, Ulysses; Condorcet, Narcissus; Dumouriez, Mithridates; Santerre, Catiline, &c., &c.

After terminating their researches in the apartments, the commissaries discovered the trap-door that opened into the place where I had hid two large letter-cases. They seized this new prey with avidity; and after examining the contents, they carried the whole with them, although not one letter or paper had any relation to public affairs. They sealed up all the doors except those of the cellar, because they intended leaving a guard of twelve men at my house, and thought it proper that those men should have wine at their discretion. My cellar was unluckily sufficiently well-stocked to furnish drink for them and their friends, and they did not spare it; but what was much more unfortunate, my brother, who had continued to lodge at my house, was arrested, as also my *valet de chambre*.

The commissaries, on leaving my house, went, with part of their escort, to that of M. d'Aubigny, my neighbour and intimate friend, in hopes of finding me. From thence they went to the *Rue du Chaume*, to the house of M. Vernier, my father-in-law, where Madame Bertrand had taken refuge on the 10th of August. They behaved with great insolence and brutality, pushing their bayonets through the tapestry to discover, they said, if there was any one concealed behind it. They carried my brother and father-in-law, in spite of his age and infirmities, before the Municipality. My *valet de chambre* was thrown into prison, and every day threatened to be guillotined if he did not discover to them the place of my concealment. Luckily he was ignorant of it; so that, even if he had been capable of betraying me, I had no cause for uneasiness on that subject. He gained his liberty a few days after, through the interest of one of his friends. My father-in-law and brother were set at liberty after a detention of thirty-six hours; during which they were often threatened, and underwent several examinations; sometimes at the Municipality, and sometimes at the house of the Mayor, where they passed two days and a night, without going to bed, and without being able to procure any other nourishment than bread and water.

My brother, the abbé, who lodged in the *Rue des Prouvaires*, fearing the same fate, prepared to change his lodgings, and had his effects secretly removed. This was observed by a patriot, who was his neighbour, and who went and denounced him as a suspected person to the Municipality, who immediately ordered commissaries, and a guard, to arrest him. While they were at his house, occupied in taking an inventory of his papers, my brother the chevalier came to inform him of his being set at liberty, and was directly arrested anew, on the absurd pretext of having connections with a person declared to be suspected. Upon the same principle, the surgeon, at

whose house I lodged, was arrested; an unlucky chance having brought him to my brother's at that moment. They were all three conducted in a hackney coach to the Municipality, accompanied and insulted by a numerous mob, who, without knowing who they were, or what they had done, demanded with loud exclamations, that they should be carried to the guillotine.

My surgeon, whose civism was known, was released in two hours; but one of my brothers was sent to the prison of *la Force*, and the other to that of the *Abbaye*.

I knew nothing of what had passed till my landlord returned to dinner. His dismal looks and unusual taciturnity announced some great misfortune. My first idea was, that the King had been assassinated. My host's silence to all my questions fortified this conjecture, and threw me into a state of such violent agitation, that he perceived it was of no use to keep me ignorant of the arrest of my brothers. In spite of the tender friendship which always subsisted betwixt us. I own that I was less alarmed on their account than on the King's, because their only crimes were those of being my brothers, and of refusing to disclose my retreat. I had it, at any time, in my power to save them by giving myself up; a step which I was determined to take if necessary.

That same night, about nine o'clock, my landlord entered in the utmost consternation; he came directly from the Assembly of the Section, after having heard one of the members announce as a piece of good news, that the Municipality had received information of the place where the Minister Bertrand was concealed. The terrified imagination of my landlord, represented his house filled with commissaries and National Guard, the Minister discovered, and carried to prison, along with the person who had harboured him; his wife and daughter insulted; his little library pillaged; and, as the cli-

max of misfortunes, his high reputation for civism ruined forever. He assured me, that I had not a moment to lose; that I ought instantly to make my escape, and seek refuge elsewhere. I endeavoured in vain to make him easy, by convincing him that if the Municipality really knew where I was concealed, they would begin by arresting me; that they could not give a stronger proof of their ignorance of my retreat, than by thus ostentatiously declaring they were informed of it; and I concluded by observing, that the news which so greatly alarmed him, was certainly in consequence of a mistake which my brother's arrest had given rise to. All this, however, was urged in vain; I could only prevail upon him to go himself in search of other lodgings, while I was employed in packing up my clothes, &c. It was agreed that I should be introduced into the new lodgings as his patient; and I allowed him to make what terms he thought proper for board and lodging.

I was extremely desirous that his researches might be long and unsuccessful, because I found myself perfectly secure in his house; and I was in hopes, that in proportion as time elapsed, his fears would weaken, and my reasonings gain force. Just as he was setting out, I thought upon a little device, likely to diminish his eagerness to get rid of me.

"In spite of my security," said I to him, "as your uneasiness is possibly well founded, and I may be taken up while you are gone to seek a lodging for me, I won't allow you to run the risk of not being reimbursed for the expense I have put you to."

"Oh, sir! there's no hurry, our little account will soon be settled."

"But you know," said I, "that if I should be arrested, they will take possession of all my money, and then it will be out of my power to indemnify you."

"If you absolutely insist upon it, sir —"

"Yes, yes," said I, "it is best to make things certain. Let me see! this is the third day of my residence in your house and *consequently* I owe you a hundred crowns."

This *consequence* surprised him the more agreeably, as we had not agreed on any price; and he would have thought himself magnificently paid with the fourth part of the sum. I perceived his countenance to brighten, and he took the money with many expressions of gratitude. His wife and daughter, who were present, said nothing, but their eyes clearly expressed their strong desire to retain a lodger whose reasoning drew such profitable *consequences*.

I was now pretty certain that my landlord would return unsuccessful. I continued however to pack up my things as if I had been to remove in an hour.

The man returned very much fatigued, about eleven o'clock at night, and told me, that he had not found any place that would suit me. "But to confess the truth," added he with an air of disinterested good will, "I do not regret it, for I should have been sorry to have parted with you; besides, I have been thinking on what you said, and I believe you are in the right: as they have not sent to arrest you, it is evident that they don't know where you are; no, if they had, they would not have given you time to conceal yourself elsewhere."

"I am entirely of your opinion," said I.

"Indeed, there can be no doubt on the subject; my mind is now quite easy, therefore think no more of new lodgings."

"It is what I by no means wish," said I.

"Well," said he, "you shall taste my pigeons. I have thirty above stairs, which I rear myself; you will find them excellent."

I did not question the excellence of his pigeons; but the certainty of not being reduced to the dangerous necessity of seeking another asylum, afforded me still more satisfaction.

PRIVATE MEMOIRS OF

CHAPTER XIV.

A decree of accusation issued against me and all those who composed the King's Council in the month of November 1791.—The inquietude of my landlord on this account.—I address a letter to the Assembly.—Domiciliary visits.—The dangerous situation to which I was reduced.—Means invented for concealing me.—A fortunate incident.—An expedient proposed to keep me secure.

I SHOULD probably have suppressed an account of the difficulties I had to contend with after the King's imprisonment, had they been confined to myself: but as nearly the same dangers and difficulties were experienced by every royalist then at Paris, the following recital may be considered as a general history of our sufferings at that dreadful period, when virtues were punished as crimes, and the most atrocious actions were applauded as patriotic virtues.

Amongst the effects and papers taken from the Palace on the 10th of August, there was unluckily a memorandum, dated as far back as the beginning of November, the contents of which were, that the Ministers, assembled in committee with Messieurs Barnave and Lameth, had discussed and agreed upon the grounds of the discourse which each Minister was to pronounce in the Assembly, respecting the affairs of his Department. This paper, without signature, and in an unknown handwriting, was declared, on the 16th of August, in the Assembly, as having been found in the King's *escritoir*. After simply reading it, without farther examination or discussion, a decree was tumultuously passed against Barnave and Lameth, and against all the Ministers who composed the King's

Council in the month of November. As I had the honour to be of that number, I was comprehended in the Decree; and on that very evening my name was echoed through the streets of the capital by the criers of journals. The alarming sound reached the ears of my host. Having bought the journal, he returned home, and with a trembling hand presented it to me.

"This affair becomes very serious, sir," said he, in a tremulous voice. "A Decree of accusation is passed against you."

"I am very glad to hear it," answered I, without hesitation. "It is what I expected and wished. You will see that I shall embarrass them a good deal."

"How?" said he. "What do you intend to do?"

"I shall begin by examining the Constitution, that I may exactly follow the rules it prescribes."

"I am happy to find you are so disposed," said he; "for to be plain with you, after a Decree of accusation, you must be sensible of the consequences both to yourself and me. I would not, for the world — that it could be said —"

"You are perfectly in the right," interrupted I: "but make yourself easy, and be assured that I am far from intending to bring you into any trouble. You have been long acquainted with my fidelity to the Constitution, and you will find that my principles remain invariably the same. But we shall talk this matter over to-morrow morning."

"With all my heart," said he. "I am glad I have mentioned this affair to you, for I own that this frightful Decree has greatly disturbed me."

I had indeed perceived that the good man's attachment for me was strongly combated by his patriotic scruples. His conscience was more timorous than enlightened. "*Leze-nation*" was a crime against which he felt the greatest horror; and he had more than once told me, that he looked upon harbouring

a person, against whom a Decree of the National Assembly was passed, as that very crime.

I immediately saw that his fears and scruples would lead him to give me my dismissal, and it therefore became necessary to prevent what would have perplexed me so much. I succeeded beyond my hopes, by adapting myself to his notions, and even seeming to surpass him in zeal for the Constitution. I had already found this the most successful method of leading him insensibly to the point I wished. What inspired him with confidence in my declaration was, the air of satisfaction I had manifested on hearing of the Decree of accusation. He was convinced that I intended to prepare for going to Orleans. The affectionate manner in which he wished me good night, and the regret he expressed for the necessity of our separation, showed that this was his real opinion.

He entered my apartment next morning earlier than usual. I seriously examined and discussed with him all the circumstances and motives of the Decree of accusation against me, and I succeeded in convincing him that the Assembly acted in perfect contradiction to the Constitution, in passing this Decree without hearing the defence of the accused; and upon no better proof than the writing contained in a piece of paper without any signature, and in an unknown handwriting, which was merely said to have been found in the King's apartment; and upon a fact, which was not only demonstrated by the verbal process of the Assembly to be false, but which, even supposing it true, could not be justly regarded as criminal. After having, by his explanation, enabled him to feel the force of my reasoning, I read a letter to him that I had written to the Assembly, in which I declared, "That if the Assembly found my justification unsatisfactory, and thought proper to confirm the Decree of accusation given against me, that I would leave the place where I had been forced to take refuge, and go to

Orleans, as soon as my health, which then was much impaired, would permit me to support the journey; and when the Assembly should pass a Decree which would serve as my passport."

This letter transported mine host with joy.

"I will engage to thrust my hand into the fire," said he, "if the Decree of accusation against you be not instantly revoked." As I was far from being of that opinion, I answered, that it was rather too much to expect that the Assembly, in the height of its power, would formally acknowledge having passed a Decree contrary to the Constitution.

"What are you talking of, sir?" said he, with all the vivacity of a Gascon, and in the Languedoc accent. "One of two things must happen: the Assembly must either revoke the Decree or confirm it."

"There is no doubt that it ought," answered I. "And if the Assembly were composed of just, honest-hearted men, like you, they certainly would do one or the other."

"How can they avoid that?"

"I will tell you," replied I. "If my justification be not found satisfactory, the Assembly will not hesitate to confirm the Decree of accusation; and, at the same time, another will be passed, to serve me as a passport to Orleans. But if they perceive that the Decree of accusation cannot be supported, they will probably, in that case, pass to the order of the day; and that is all I require."

"Assuredly — the order of the day — yes, they will pass to that. I believe you are in the right. But pray do you intend to send your letter immediately?"

"No; I think it will be more prudent to let a few days pass, before I send it, otherwise it would convince them that I am still in Paris, and the Municipality would not fail to make fresh researches. Perhaps they might discover where I am,

which would expose you to trouble. What do you think?"

"Very true," said he. "I am entirely of your opinion. You must not send it for some days. I shall carry it myself to the post. You will not date it from Paris?"

"No, certainly; I shall only mention the day of the month."

"Right. Now I understand you."

"I have another affair to consult you upon," resumed I. "We do not know what may happen. It is not impossible but that some time or other it may be known that I was concealed in your house. This may be imputed to you as a crime; therefore I think it will be proper, for your security, to give you a copy of my letter to the Assembly, inclosed in a declaration under my hand, to this effect: That being forced to seek an asylum, after the 10th of August, I took a lodging at your house, on account of my needing the assistance of a surgeon for the abscess in my thigh; that after the Decree of accusation was passed against me, you consented to my remaining at your house only on condition that I promised to submit to the will of the National Assembly as soon as I was able, in case they should confirm the Decree; that, in consequence, you had required that I should write the letter, of which the inclosed was a copy; and that you had yourself carried the original to the post. Do you think," added I, "that such a declaration would be of use to you?"

"Of the most essential, sir," answered he. "I should not have ventured to have asked such a declaration from you, but I feel myself infinitely obliged to you for thinking of it."

I gave him this declaration accordingly, with the letter to the Assembly, which was dated the 20th of August 1792. It was received on the 22d, and next day read; and immediately, as I had foreseen, the motion of passing to the order of the day was unanimously adopted. But as my landlord was fortunately prepared to consider their passing to the order of the

day, upon my letter, as a tacit revocation of the Decree of accusation, he imagined that my affairs had taken a favourable turn; and that evening he came, with an air of great satisfaction, to congratulate me upon what had passed in the Assembly.

My friends and relations, whom I had no opportunity of apprising of my measures, were extremely alarmed on hearing my name proclaimed in the streets. My brothers, who heard it from their prisons, never doubted of my being apprehended; their fears respecting my safety were dissipated, on reading the Journals. My letter to the Assembly, however, was generally disapproved of.

Those who spoke of this step with most indulgence, regarded it as foolish, because they were ignorant of the circumstances which forced me to it. They could not guess that my letter had produced the very effect I expected or intended by it, namely, that of quieting the conscience of the person who gave me refuge. From that moment he regarded me as a faithful Constitutionalist, whom all true friends to the country, ought to protect from the persecution of the republican faction.

In the meantime the *comité des recherches*, as it was called, employed every possible means of discovering the place of my retreat. They were convinced that I was still concealed in some house in Paris; and Manuel engaged to find me in four days. I was informed of this by my landlord, who had heard it repeated in his Section, and was greatly alarmed: but I at last convinced him that Manuel had spoken at random, without any indication of the place of my concealment; and that his boast deserved no attention. We remained, for two days, tolerably quiet: but on the evening of the third, all the Sections received an order, about eight o'clock, for a general search, to begin at midnight, in every house in their quarter, upon pretence of looking for arms; and all that should be found were to be seized, and transmitted to the armies. The

true motive of this measure was to discover and apprehend all those who, since the 10th of August, had been obliged to conceal themselves, in order to escape death; and the greatest part of those who found means to save themselves, on that dreadful day, were now discovered, thrown into prison, and reserved for the still more dreadful slaughter of the ensuing September.

I never was exposed to greater danger than on the night the Commissaries were ordered to search the houses; for consternation and despair had almost turned my poor host's head, and it was impossible for me to make him listen to reason.

"Hide yourself, hide yourself," said he, on entering my apartment, with a most ghastly look.

"What is the matter, doctor?" said I, without any apparent discomposure.

"The Commissaries," said he, wringing his hands, "the Commissaries, sir. They are in the street. They are coming. Oh! hide yourself—hide yourself."

"Well, and so I shall hide myself, I promise you: but I beg to know what new reason there is. Compose yourself, and tell me who these Commissaries are."

"The Commissaries of the Section, sir, who have orders to search every house, from the cellar to the garret."

"And on what account is this search?"

"The reason publicly given is to search for concealed fire-arms: but I came directly here from the Committee, where I was informed, that the Commissaries have received secret orders to apprehend all suspected persons."

"If this be all, doctor, make yourself perfectly easy; for you have no fire-arms in your house, and I have not the air of a suspected person."

"Don't you perceive, sir, that it is a device of that rascal

Manuel's, and that he has very probably sent a particular description of your person to all the Sections?"

"That is impossible; for he never saw me, and can only give so vague a description from report, that ten thousand people of my size will answer to the same description."

"But what does that signify, if it answers to you? I tell you, that you have not a moment to lose. Hide yourself — take my word."

"Listen to me, my dear doctor: As I am the person most interested, and am not a downright idiot, I have certainly a right to examine a little the measure you desire me to adopt. Grant me a moment's attention, we have time to spare. The Commissaries, you say, have but just entered the street, they have therefore at least sixty houses to search, from the cellar to the garret, before they come here. Besides, there are many lodgings in this house. Yours is the most distant; and there is no reason to believe it will be the first examined; so that even upon the supposition that the Commissaries were in the court, we should have time to take breath."

"Well, then, tell me what is to be done: but make haste."

"Why, I must either hide myself, or try to make my escape."

"But you cannot make your escape, sir, for there are guards at each end of the street. Besides, there are patrols to stop every person who comes out of any of the houses."

"If that be the case, there is no choice left but to conceal myself; and that is the easiest thing in the world, for I have only to undress myself, and go to bed."

"What do you mean? Are you in your senses? The Commissaries will find you immediately."

"Well, and when they do find me, consider that I am not in my own Section, and therefore shall not be known to any

of them; and if I seem quietly asleep in bed, I shall have a much less suspicious appearance than if I am found under it, or penned up in some press, or lurking in the cellar."

"But they will inquire of me who you are."

"Very well; you have only to say that I am a lawyer from Limousin or Auvergne, who has been under your care during an illness, which has terminated in an abscess in my thigh which is not quite cured."

"What name shall I call you by?"

"Whatever name you please. But you may even be dispensed from naming me, because surgeons are expected to keep the names of certain patients secret."

"Well, after all, I own that I have not sufficient assurance to act this part," said he. "They will soon see that I am not telling the truth."

"That is exactly my greatest fear, doctor. I dread your pale, terrified look much more than I do the Commissaries; for they will instantly read in your countenance that you have some great offender concealed in your house."

"Oh! don't fear," said he, tremblingly.

"I should be much easier, I confess," answered I, "if you would be prevailed upon to pass the night at the Committee. It will appear very natural, that in times like these your zeal should lead you to assist your colleagues. This cannot fail to please them; and your wife and I, take my word for it, will extricate ourselves to a miracle. You may, if you please, lock me up in my chamber, and carry the key with you. Your wife has only to say to the Commissaries, that it is your surgery, and contains no arms except a few lancets and other instruments; and that you have the key in your pocket. You cannot fear that these gentlemen will have the brutality to break open the door of a colleague, whose patriotism is so well known."

“How, sir? Would you have me leave my wife and daughter here alone, to receive the Commissaries and the National Guard, while they searched my house? Assuredly, sir, I shall do no such thing.”

“Why not?” answered I. “Where is the danger? But even upon the supposition that there was cause for apprehension, what protection could they expect from a man in such terror as you are in at present?”

“I am not so frightened as you think. Any small fear I had begins to go off. I shall be quite at my ease when I have got you well hid. I am as much interested in this as you are; for if you are discovered in my house, my case will be as bad as your own. But trust to me, and you shall see that I have thought upon a plan which would conceal you from the devil himself.”

I endeavoured in vain to dissuade him from his scheme, but he adhered to it with invincible obstinacy; and at last refusing to listen to me, he threw my mattress and bed-clothes into the middle of the floor, to prepare the wonderful place of concealment that he had conceived for me. In the room there was an alcove, containing a bed, which usually reached to the wall: but for the present purpose drawing the bed forward, he left a vacant space between the back edge of the bed and the wall of the alcove. He fixed a board from the bedstead to the wall, and covered the board with a blanket only; whereas on the bedstead he placed two thick mattresses, no broader than it; he then laid above those a large mattress, which reached to the wall of the alcove, and consequently covered the space in which I was to lie hid. I yielded to his persuasions, and took my place accordingly. He arranged the curtains and bed-clothes so as to conceal the space I occupied. When he had finished his work, he was so delighted with the ingenuity of his device, that he quite forgot his fears.

"Who could suspect," said he, "that there is a man concealed there? Nobody can take such a notion into his head. Besides, when I shall lie down, who the devil will dare to come near you? If the Commissary pretends to approach within an arm's length of my bed, I shall soon let him know that I am a commissary as well as he. I would break his head for him without ceremony. Well, how do you find yourself?" added he.

"Very ill, indeed. I am almost stifled."

"Oh! that is nothing; only a troublesome quarter of an hour to pass. But you will sleep the better to-morrow night. Don't move, or you will put all out of order. I am coming to bed directly, and will endeavour to give you a little air."

"Make haste, then," said I; "for this is insupportable."

He accordingly undressed, and came to bed. I soon found my sufferings greatly augmented by the heat and weight of his body, which pressing the mattresses, rendered the narrow space in which I was squeezed still more oppressive. It was then about one o'clock in the morning. I supported my situation upwards of an hour. At last, having lost all patience, I started up, and waked my bedfellow, who had just begun to sleep.

"This is no longer to be endured," said I. "If I must die, I prefer the guillotine to being smothered; and am determined to sit up till I hear the Commissaries actually in the house."

My landlord earnestly entreated me to have patience, declaring that he heard a noise in the street, and that the Commissaries were perhaps already at the door.

"Then put on your night-gown," said I, impatiently, "and go listen; and if it really be the Commissaries, return and let me know."

Luckily my advice did not appear unreasonable. He made no objection to follow it. He was no sooner gone than I got

out of the hole in which I had been hid, and cannot express the relief I felt in my release from that state of suffocation. I had not long enjoyed the comfort of breathing freely when I heard bursts of laughter on the stairs, and a very noisy conversation, in which I recognized my landlord's voice. He soon after entered my room laughing, and, in the fulness of his heart, continuing to talk as if he had been still in company with the other lodgers, although he had parted with them at the bottom of the stairs. His joyous and triumphant air was a clear proof that there was nothing to fear.

"How now," said he, "you have got up; you know then what has passed?"

"No, but when I heard you laugh, I guessed you brought me good news."

"That I have, take my word for it."

"You have come to a good understanding with the Commissaries, and prevented them from searching your house."

"Yes," answered he, "if several pretty hard blows are marks of a good understanding."

"How?" said I. "Did you give the Commissaries hard blows?"

"No, not me: but all the neighbourhood are in pursuit of them, and they have been driven out of the street. It is the greatest farce I ever beheld. Only conceive what these pretty Commissaries are. Do not imagine they are members of the Committee — No such thing — two of the greatest blackguards of the Section, who offered, of themselves, to visit the houses, and were accepted of. It is shameful. They had visited all the houses of the street excepting two; and being in that of the baker next door, his wife, who is young, and a very pretty woman, was in bed, when, behold, those impudent fellows, on pretence of searching for arms, behaved in such a rude manner, that she shrieked repeatedly. Her husband opened the

window, and called for assistance. In an instant more than a hundred persons were in the house, and drove out the Commissaries, after giving them a complete drubbing. When I came in, the people were still chasing them with sticks and stones. They scampered as if the devil had been at their heels. I'll be bound for it they will not come to this street in a hurry. The blades were in luck not to enter my house. They would not have got out of it with all their bones whole."

After much of this ridiculous vapouring, which only served to confirm my opinion of the poor man's excessive cowardice, he begged I would take a little repose.. I endeavoured to follow his advice, after returning thanks to Divine Providence for my preservation through the dangers of a night so fatal to many.

It is remarkable, that I happened to be concealed in the only street of Paris in which the Commissaries met with opposition; and in one of the two only houses of that street which had not been searched.

Next day, my landlord's fears being dissipated, he went out early in the morning, at my desire, to inquire after Madame Bertrand and my family; and I entreated him to bring me the most minute account of the result of the Commissaries' visit. I shall say nothing of the extreme impatience with which I waited his return, nor of my gloomy apprehensions on account of his not appearing at the hour expected. He returned, however, at last, and gave me the consolation of knowing that none of my family had been arrested: but he informed me, at the same time, that he had seen numerous carriages filled with unhappy persons, who had been taken up in the course of the night, and were conducting to the Mayor's house, or the Hotel de Ville, and from thence to the prison of La Force, or to that of the Abbaye. He had likewise heard, in his Section, that several persons, known to be in Paris, were

not yet found; and that it was probable another search, more rigorous than the first, would be made. He added, that he would have no inquietude if this search was made by any of the members of the Committee, because he was known to and beloved by them all; and being their colleague, he was certain they would merely enter and go out of his house for the sake of form, without examining or searching for anything: but if the visits were made, as there was reason to fear, by the simple individuals of the Section, as in the last instance, he could not expect the same attention, because he had never spoken in their assemblies, and was not generally known; that unluckily he had not talents for speaking or writing on subjects foreign to his profession: but he added, that if I would compose for him a speech, on a patriotic topic, which he at the same time mentioned, he would next day read it in the Assembly of his Section. I thought his idea a good one, and promised to do as he required.

PRIVATE MEMOIRS OF

CHAPTER XV.

The speech I composed at the request of my landlord.— It is decided that the two only houses in my street, not yet examined, shall be visited by the members of the Committee, of which he was one.— Massacres of September.— My inquietude for the fate of my two brothers.— I am informed of the death of one of them.— This news proves false.— Massacre of M. de Montmorin.— Tribunal in the Abbaye; the manner of its proceeding.— Trial of my brother.— Remarkable conduct of two of the assassins.

It was not one of the least whimsical circumstances of my situation, that of being reduced to the humiliating necessity of writing patriotic discourses in order to escape the fury of the patriots. That which I wrote at the desire of my landlord, had not however anything atrocious in it. Its sole object was to prevail on the Assembly of the Section to authorise him to give surgical assistance *gratis* to the families of all the volunteers of the Section, who were at or should go to the frontiers.

This discourse, written in a very emphatic style, had the most complete success, and gained my landlord the applause of all the members of the Assembly. His name was proclaimed in the Section in the most honourable terms; and next day, in the Journals, the most flattering eulogiums were given to his patriotism. These two days were certainly the happiest of his life. He was quite intoxicated with self-applause; thought himself superior to future events, and could not find words sufficiently strong to express his gratitude for the service I had rendered him. I advised him to take this opportunity of engaging two of his best friends of the Committee

to come and visit his house, and also that of his neighbour, which had not yet been searched; as this was the surest means of having nothing more to fear from the Municipality, which, otherwise, on being informed that all the houses of the street had not been visited, might again send Commissaries at a time when they were not expected, and throw us into all our former inquietudes. This advice appeared to him very prudent, and he went immediately to the Committee: but he found it difficult to prevail upon any of his colleagues to search his house. They said that they would trust to his declaration; but he persisted in his request by my advice, because his word would only be satisfactory with respect to himself; and there were thirty lodgings in the whole of the building, which was five stories in height, and very large. It was at last settled, that he himself, with two other members of the Committee, whom he had particularly desired, should visit his and all the other lodgings that very afternoon.

These commissaries came accordingly at four o'clock. He received them in an antechamber, which now that I occupied the inner apartment, was used as a parlour; the next door betwixt these two rooms did not shut close, so that I could distinctly hear every word that passed betwixt my host and his colleagues. He performed the part we had agreed upon perfectly well.

"There is my daughter's apartment," said he, "and this is my wife's and mine: that room there is my study, in which I have a bed for patients who board with me. I have one at present; he is an advocate from the country, whom I have recovered out of an illness. I can answer for him, that he has neither gun nor sabre in his possession. I shall, if you'll give me leave, let him know that we are going to search his apartment."

"It is unnecessary," said they, "since you say that you are

sure he has no arms; let us leave the poor man in quiet, and visit the other apartments."

"As you please, gentlemen, I am at your commands."

They all went out together; and my host returned some hours after, felicitating himself as well as me, that we had nothing more to fear from those cursed domiciliary visits.

I partook of his satisfaction on our having escaped so great a danger, and congratulated myself on having convinced him, that the great consideration he had obtained in his Section, secured us against all future inquietude on that head. Alas! I did not then foresee the heavy calamities which were impending.

Next day was the dreadful 2d of September;¹ when I heard

¹ The description of the escape of Bertrand's two brothers is undoubtedly as genuine as it is interesting. Nor is it the only case of the kind; Cazotte, Sombreuil, and several others escaped in much the same way and found the same curious mixture of sensibility and savagery in the deliverers. This is the more remarkable since there can be no question that those who took part in these massacres (about 170 in all) were regularly engaged and paid by the "Comité de Surveillance," of the Municipality of Paris, consisting of Marat, Sergent Panis, and a number of other less known ruffians. Space will not permit of any detailed account of these three days of wholesale murder. It must suffice to say that for some days before the 2nd September 1792, domiciliary visits, ordered by Danton, Minister of Justice, took place throughout Paris, and that a sufficient number of men and women, suspected or otherwise, had been swept into the prisons to over-crowd them. It is said, probably truly, that the Municipality tried to lay their hands on Roland, Brissot and other Girondist Deputies. If so, the Municipality and the Jacobins failed for the moment.

On the 2nd September "workmen" were placed in front of the Abbaye and other prisons, and the massacres were begun by the murder of twenty-four priests, who were sent in carriages from the Mairie, where they were temporarily confined, to be slain at the gate of the Abbaye prison. The exact number butchered during the 2nd, 3rd and 4th September will never be accurately known; the probable number runs from eleven to twelve hundred. Many of these were priests or political prisoners. A few, like Count Montmorin and the Princess de Lambeth, were important personages connected

the cannon of alarm fired betwixt twelve and one, I imagined that accounts had come of a decisive victory gained by the Duke of Brunswick; and that foreign troops were marching towards Paris. My landlord, who feared this exceedingly, now began to be very much disturbed on account of the celebrity of his patriotism, the very idea of seeing the Houlands (Uhlans) and Prussian hussars enter Paris overwhelmed him with dismay. I made him easier by assuring him that I would be his protector; and I solemnly promised to justify his conduct by declaring that he had done nothing but by my advice. I then begged he would go out and learn what was passing, and bring me back accounts of it.

He returned at five in the afternoon.

with the Court or the Constituent Assembly, but the majority were ordinary prisoners who had nothing whatever to do with the clergy, the aristocracy or politics in any shape or form. There were, for instance, thirty-five women, mostly of bad character, who were massacred, apparently in sheer lust and cruelty, at the Salpêtrière.

What may be called the official explanation of the Massacres is contained in a circular, signed by all the members of the "Comité de Surveillance," urging the people of France to follow the example of Paris, by ridding the country of the enemies of liberty at home, before rushing to confront the allied Tyrants on the frontier. That priests, ex-ministers and Princesses should be destroyed, in accordance with the teachings of Marat and his colleagues is intelligible, but even a wild mob, wrought up to a state of semi-insanity, by the savage suspicion of betrayal, which has played so sinister a part in the history of France, could hardly imagine that thieves, fraudulent bankrupts, women of the town, and men, boys and girls whom fate had thrown into the prisons, were the implacable foes of their newly acquired liberties. Another explanation must be sought for, and is, in fact, quite obvious. The Massacres were an electioneering device to secure the return of the Jacobin candidates for Paris, Robespierre, Danton, Collot d'Herbois, Manuel, Marat and nineteen others, to the Convention. Most of these had been deeply concerned in the events of the 20th June, and 10th August 1792. They had dethroned the King, supplanted the legal Municipality and committed a hundred other acts, which had caused them to be regarded by the respectable classes of the city as a dangerous and organized gang of murderous scoundrels. There were in Paris over 200,000 electors; if only a fair pro-

I soon guessed by his paleness and gloomy looks, that he brought fatal intelligence.

"What have you heard?" said I, with the most lively inquietude.

"Don't speak to me. Oh! terrible! Stand aside till I shut the window; and go you," said he, addressing his wife and daughter, "and lock the outer door."

"Calm yourself," said I, "and tell me what has happened."

"Calm myself — ! after what I have seen!"

"What have you seen?"

"Oh! don't speak of it, it is horrible!"

"In the name of God," said I, "don't leave me in this cruel incertitude; is the King in the Temple?"

"To be sure he is; — who was speaking of the King?"

"Why then have they fired the cannon?"

"Because of some bad news from the frontiers respecting that cursed little town of Longwy, which the Prussians have taken; all Paris is in an uproar. They are murdering all the priests they can find; the prisons are broken open; two or three

portion of these were allowed to vote, the result would probably be to restore the Constitutional Monarchy, in any case to elect peaceful citizens of moderate views. In either case the Jacobin candidates stood not only to lose all they had gained during the last twelve months, but to find their heads in imminent peril. The domiciliary visits were designed, according to this theory, to keep the primary electors away from the Electoral Assemblies, and the Massacres to terrorize the secondary electors who met on the 2nd September in the Archbishop's Palace. They were led through a lane heaped with the corpses of victims. They were purified by the rejection of all those who had signed the two famous petitions to the King after the 20th June and were duly intimidated by the mob provided by the Jacobins for that purpose. The Paris massacres were followed by the assassination of twenty-eight political prisoners brought by Fournier, "the American," from Orleans to Versailles (see the note on the Duke de Brissac, Vol. II., p. 79); by the murder of seven priests at Meaux, six at Rheims, four at Conches and by several isolated assassinations such as that of the Duke de La Rochefoucauld at Gisors.

hundred ruffians have rushed in, and are butchering the prisoners. I just now saw the head of the Princess de Lambelle carried on a pike to the Temple. All the bishops and priests, to the number of two or three hundred, who were confined in the convent of the Carmes, have been slaughtered without mercy."

The most eloquent pen could but weakly describe the terror and despair which overwhelmed me on hearing this horrible recital. I was seized with an universal trembling; a cold sweat broke out upon my face. The dreadful idea of my two murdered brothers was more poignant than a thousand daggers piercing my heart. They had been shut up a fortnight before in the prisons, for no other reason than being my brothers: my troubled imagination presented them struggling with the assassins; I heard their dying groans; the sole thought of surviving them revolted my mind, and made me consider existence as an unsupportable torment. "It is my blood only," cried I to my landlord, who stood amazed at the state in which he beheld me, "that they wish to shed: it is not just that my brothers should be murdered, because I am concealed; go, therefore, run directly, and let them know, that if my life will save theirs, I am ready to deliver myself up instantly, and you may announce the same to the people."

He endeavoured to calm me by the assurance, that he had made inquiries respecting the fate of my brothers: he had been positively informed, that they were both alive, and not in such danger as I imagined; because, after the first massacres, a tribunal had been established in each prison, before which the prisoners were tried one after the other; that those against whom there were the most serious accusations, were tried first; and, as there was a great number of prisoners, the slaughter would be stopped before my brothers would be called, as there was no particular crime stated in the prison register

against either of them. He told me also, that a corporal of the National Guard, a very intelligent man, who was much attached to my brother Abbé, was gone to the Prison de la Force to employ every possible means of saving him.

These assurances, in some degree, calmed me; and *Hope*, that second soul of the miserable, was so necessary to me, that I eagerly grasped every circumstance which tended to revive it.

I sent my landlord for more particular information to the corporal; to entreat of him to procure me some intelligence concerning my brother the chevalier, and to render both all the service in his power. My landlord acquitted himself of his commission; and as the corporal was not returned home, he left a note at his lodgings to the effect already mentioned.

The impatience and agitation with which I expected this man may be easily conceived. It was about midday when he came to my lodging. The landlord, after talking with him a few moments, introduced him into my apartment. The slowness with which I had heard him advance to my door made me shudder: but his silence, and the appearance of his eyes, which seemed swelled and red with weeping, filled me with the most direful presages.

“My brother is, then, dead?” cried I, with a voice broken by convulsive sobs.—“The poor Abbé—you could not, then, save him?”

“Pardon me, sir; I have this moment parted from him. He desires to be remembered to you.”

“You have just parted with him! He is not then dead?”

“No, thank God; and I hope we shall save him. The municipal officer at the head of the tribunal is very well disposed towards him.”

“Why did not you tell me so at once? Why do you look so sad? Have you any bad news to tell me? Don’t keep me in this cruel suspense.”

“Alas! sir — the chevalier —”

“Oh! is he dead? Have you seen him? Tell me all.”

“I have not seen him. It was not in my power to get near him: but his servant found his dead body amongst those which are heaped before the gate of the Abbaye. He told me so just now.”

These terrible words overset my reason. I stared wildly at the officer; and some drops of blood I perceived on his coat excited an emotion of inexpressible horror against him.

“You are covered with blood, sir,” cried I, with frantic indignation. “Leave me instantly. Get out of my sight; I wish to be alone.”

The poor man, quite confounded at the harshness with which I spoke to him, left me without answering a single word. I immediately locked my door, and darkened the windows; for at that moment the light of the sun, and the sight of a human being, were equally odious to me.

I threw myself upon my bed in a state which cannot be described. My brain throbbed, and my whole body was convulsed. After remaining two hours in this situation, a flood of tears, without abating my sorrow, weakened its effects, and gave me some relief. My headache and convulsions ceased, but my reflections were equally bitter. When I imagined I had lost the Abbé, it seemed to me that I should have regretted the chevalier less than him: but now when I thought that it was the chevalier who had perished, he seemed to my afflicted heart the dearest of the two. Besides, I bitterly reproached myself for being, in some degree, the cause of his death, by persuading him to return from his travels, to France, on my nomination to the Ministry. I had done this, that the King might not be reproached for having in his administration the brother of a man, who might be suspected of emigration.

It was impossible for me to shut my eyes the whole night.

I rose at daybreak, exhausted with pain and grief, ready to expire with burning heat, and my mouth parched with thirst. I little expected that the day which was beginning would see me pass from the extreme of grief to that of joy. At nine in the morning my faithful *valet de chambre*, whom I had not seen for a fortnight, suddenly entered my apartment. His cheerful looks announced good news, but did not relieve my sorrow, as I thought he was coming to tell me of my brother the Abbé's safety, which I expected, from what the corporal had already told me: but what was my happiness and astonishment, when this worthy, honest man told me, and repeated it several times before I could believe him, that the chevalier was alive, and had returned, at two in the morning, to my father-in-law's house; that he himself had seen him, and had shaken him by the hand.

"Ah, my dear friend," said I, embracing him as affectionately as if he had been my brother, "you have restored me to life. I shall never forget this mark of attachment."

He was so much affected, that he began to weep and sob from the bottom of his heart. My satisfaction was increased by the share this faithful domestic took in it.²

² One of the most pleasing traits of the Revolutionary Epoch is the fidelity and attachment of servants to their masters and mistresses. Besides such noble fidelity as was shown to Louis XVI. and his family by Hué, Cléry and others, we constantly find cases of servants who harboured or concealed their former employers, or who followed them into exile.

One of the most remarkable of these was the case of a man named Letellier, valet to the Director François Barthelemy. When Barthelemy was condemned to transportation to Cayenne, after the Coup d'Etat of Fructidor (September 1797), a horrible punishment which was known as the "Dry Guillotine," and which implied almost certain death from fever, starvation and misery, Letellier insisted on accompanying his master. "If he is such a fool," Barras is reported to have said, "let him go and be damned."

Barthelemy himself, with eight others, escaped in an open boat which was picked up by an English cruiser, but the brave valet died in the boat before the rescue.

It was this same man who, a month after my leaving the Kingdom, gave me a still greater proof of attachment, in quitting his wife and children, and braving, without a passport, the dangers of emigration, in order to join me in England.

My soul was so intoxicated with joy the whole day, that no dismal idea could find entrance. Entirely occupied with my brother's safety, I for some hours forgot the public calamity: but this cheerful gleam was but too soon obscured. Next day I learnt, with the utmost horror, that the massacre of the prisoners continued day and night, without interruption. All my inquietude, as far as it regarded my brother, was, however, terminated that very day, when the corporal came to inform me that the Abbé had also been found innocent, and set at liberty. Both my brothers owed their deliverance to their courage and presence of mind, joined to this fortunate circumstance, that none of the villains, who had caused them to be arrested, merely for being my brothers, were of the tribunal that acquitted them. The serenity of their countenances prejudiced in their favour the very assassins who, when they judged them, knew not that they were my brothers, and found no particular charge stated against them. That acquittal proved afterwards their safeguard in the most bloody periods of the Revolution. The monsters who succeeded were undoubtedly afraid of showing themselves more ferocious than their predecessors, by condemning those who were spared on the 2d of September.

The unfortunate Count de Montmorin had taken refuge, on the 10th of August, at the house of a washerwoman in the Faubourg St. Antoine. He was discovered a few days before the 2d of September, by the imprudence of his hostess, who bought the finest fowls and the best fruit she could find, and carried them to her house, without taking any precaution to

elude the observation of her neighbours. They soon suspected her of giving refuge to some aristocrat of the highest order. This conjecture spread amongst the populace of the Faubourg, who were almost all of them agents or spies of the Jacobins. Those suspicions having reached the committee *des recherches* appointed by the Municipality, they ordered the house of the washerwoman to be searched. M. de Montmorin was arrested at the moment he least expected it, and conducted to the bar of the National Assembly. He answered the questions which were put to him with great calmness, and in the most satisfactory manner: but his having concealed himself, and a bottle of opium found in his pocket, formed, as they said, a strong presumption that he was conscious of some crime, of which they expected to find proofs in the papers seized in his own house. After being detained two days in the Committee, he was sent a prisoner to the Abbaye, where his dismal forebodings were too well verified. He was murdered with circumstances too shocking to mention, and his mutilated body carried in triumph to the National Assembly.

Amidst these scenes of horror and carnage, and amongst these ferocious monsters, who acted alternately as judges and executioners, my brother, the chevalier, had the good fortune to meet with two men, who, although covered with the blood which they themselves had shed, were nevertheless susceptible of the sentiments of humanity. As those men were the instruments of saving my brother's life, I can never think of them without gratitude. The particulars of their extraordinary conduct I had from my brother himself, and are as follows:

The tribunal established in the prison, for the pretended trial of the prisoners, had delivered to the executioner all who had been brought before it. When my brother was summoned, one of those who were conducting him, struck with the calmness and air of security he remarked in his counte-

nance, after having looked at him some moments with earnestness, said,

"You have the appearance of an honest man. One conscious of guilt has not such a countenance."

"Well, I am conscious of no guilt."

"Why are you here, then?"

"That is what I cannot tell. Nobody has been able to inform me. I am convinced I was arrested by mistake."

"You are sure of that?"

"Very sure."

"In that case fear nothing. Keep a good heart. Speak firm before the judge, and rely on my support. Do you hear? We shall bring you off, as sure as my name is Michel."

"I am not at all afraid: but I can assure you that you shall be well rewarded."

"Don't talk of that," replied he, with a shake of his head.

The unexpected good fortune, of finding a zealous protector among these assassins imparted to my brother all the steadiness requisite to enable him to support the horrible aspect of his judges. Being arrived at the bar of this tribunal of blood, and interrogated, by one of the butchers who presided, as to his name and quality; he mentioned his name, adding that he was a *Maltais* (Maltese).

"*Maltais! Maltais!* What does that mean? What is a *Maltais*?" exclaimed a hundred voices at once.

"He means that he is from Malta," answered my brother's conductor, in a loud voice. "Malta is an island; don't you know that? I have known a great many people who came from it, and all of them were *Maltais*."

"Ah, it is an island," said one. "The prisoner is, then, a stranger?"

"Yes, to be sure he is a stranger. What else can he be, you blockhead?"

"Very well: but don't you be in a passion, citizen."

"Call to order, call to order, President," cried out several at once. "Come, let us make haste."

"The President then asked my brother of what he was accused. My brother answered, that he did not know, for nobody had been able to tell him."

"He lies, he lies," was echoed from all sides.

"Silence, citizens," answered honest Michel, in a voice of authority; "let the prisoner speak. If he lies, his business will soon be done for him: but you won't condemn him without hearing him, I hope?"

"No, no, no; that is but fair. Let us hear what he has to say for himself. Michel is in the right. Hear him, hear him. Go on, President."

"Why were you arrested?" resumed the President.

"Because I had the misfortune to call upon a person at the very moment the guard came to arrest him. They took me (and another, who had also called by accident), along with him to the Municipality: but the other being a Commissary of the Section, obtained his liberty in a few hours. My friends have also taken steps to procure mine; and they have always been told, that orders would be immediately given for that purpose. I cannot conceive why they have not."

"But are you certain," said the President, "that there is no accusation against you on the register?"

"I have no reason to think there is: but if there be, I shall not be at a loss to justify myself."

"Bring me the register," said the President.

It was delivered to him by the gaoler; and upon examining it, the President finding no crime annexed to the name of my brother, nor any reason whatever given for his being arrested, he handed the register to the other members of the tribunal,

in order to convince them; and then declared, with a loud voice, that the prisoner had told the truth.

"The nation ought, then, to declare him innocent," cried Michel.

The motion was supported by a general "*oui, oui, oui, oui.*" This unanimous acclamation was immediately followed by a formal declaration of the tribunal, in the name of the nation, that the prisoner was innocent; and he was ordered to be set at liberty. This sentence was applauded by repeated cries of *vive la nation!* Upon this Michel, and one of his comrades, who had seemed equally interested in my brother's fate, took him under the arm, and conducted him to the outer gate of the prison, where the massacres were committed, and loudly proclaimed him innocent.

The executioners were drawn up in two opposite rows, their weapons ready to strike, when the words "an innocent citizen" reached their ears. They instantly surrounded him, lifted him in their arms with clamorous transports of joy; and with faces and hands besmeared with blood, they hugged him by turns. He was forced to submit, with a good grace, to these horrible caresses, which his vigorous conductors with difficulty relieved him from, saying that he was unwell, required rest, and that it would be cruel to detain him longer. After having disengaged him from the mob, Michel asked him if he had any relations in town, to whom he wished to be conducted. He answered, that he had a sister-in-law, to whose house he was going, but that he would not give them the trouble of accompanying him, as he had sufficient strength still left to walk by himself. He at the same time expressed his gratitude for their services, and offered them a handful of assignats as a small recompense for all they had done for him. They refused his money, and persisted in accompanying him.

"We must answer for you," said one of them to him; "and we cannot leave you till we have seen you in safety. As for your assignats, we will have none of them. The satisfaction of saving you is better than that. It is to your sister-in-law's, then, we are now going? Where does she live?"

"In the *rue du Chaume*."

"The good lady will be surprised and happy, no doubt, to see you again."

"Oh! certainly. She will be delighted."

"You would never guess, sir," said honest Michel, "what my comrade and I have been whispering together. We were just saying, that if you would give us leave to attend you to your sister's, it would do both our hearts good to see so happy a meeting."

"You are very kind, my friends, but it is late, and you stand in need of sleep."

"Oh! sir, that sight would refresh us more than anything."

"I should be glad of your company, but my sister-in-law is so timid, and of such a delicate constitution, that the sight of strangers, at so late an hour, might alarm her; and besides, the blood on your clothes might do her harm, which would certainly give you pain."

"Certainly," replied they: "but when you tell her that it was us who saved your life, she will be glad to see us. Depend upon it we will not frighten her. Come, come, sir, give us this satisfaction; it will not cost you so much as the money you offered, and will afford us more pleasure."

My brother was forced to yield to their entreaties. They accompanied him to the house of my father-in-law, to which Madame Bertrand and my children had gone after the 10th of August. The joy of my family, on seeing the chevalier, was the more lively, as they had given him up for lost.

Madame Bertrand being prepared for the strange visit she

was to receive, consented to it without repugnance. Her heart was too full of joy and gratitude to be accessible to other sentiments. She only saw in these men, covered with blood, the deliverers of my brother, and she received them as her benefactors. They were extremely touched by this reception, and with the joy of Madame Bertrand and her family, who surrounded the chevalier, and embraced him with many tears.

Michel and his friend were delighted with this scene of happiness, which they justly considered as their own work.

"It is you and I, my friend, after all," said Michel to his comrade, "who have saved the life of this honest man."

To this the other assented, the tears, at the same instant, falling from the eyes of both. This emotion was undoubtedly mixed with remorse; for at a moment when mild humanity began to resume her influence in the breasts of those men, perhaps originally good, but perverted by fanaticism and example, they could not but reflect with horror on the bloody scenes to which they had been accessory.

They had the discretion not to prolong their visit beyond a quarter of an hour; and in taking leave of my brother, they repeatedly thanked him for the pleasure he had procured them.

The reader must be struck with such an astonishing instance of sentiments so opposite and discordant existing in the same breast. How can we account for a fact so very extraordinary, that those who are employed as the assassins of their fellow-creatures, should, almost in the same moment, show themselves sensible of the most pleasing sensations of benevolence and compassion to a man quite unknown to them? Even those who have most deeply examined the human heart must be perplexed to give a satisfactory explanation of this phenomenon, which is perhaps without example.

PRIVATE MEMOIRS OF

CHAPTER XVI.

New manœuvres to discover the place of my concealment.—The Jacobins publish an account of my death.—My house in the country is burnt.—Death of my father.—The retreat of the Duke of Brunswick.—I resolve to quit the Kingdom.—I arrive at Boulogne, where I embark.

THE Committees of Public Safety, appointed by the Assembly and by the Municipality of Paris, which were composed of the most violent Jacobins, continued to pursue me with as much rancour as ever, and employed every means to discover the place of my concealment. M. d'Andrezel, treasurer of the invalids of the sea service, found means to inform me, that Le Cointre-Puiraveau, one of the most worthless scoundrels in the Assembly, had made him a visit, in the name of the Committee, to learn from him where I was hid; and that he had tried, first by promises, and afterwards by threats, to extort from him the secret. M. d'Andrezel was incapable of disclosing it, had he known it: but, in fact, he was not at all in my confidence, and knew not where I was. "We are absolutely certain," said Le Cointre, "by the information which we have already got, and by the measures which we have taken, that he cannot escape; therefore in telling us at present where he is, you will shorten our search, without doing any harm either to yourself or him; for nobody shall ever know that you gave us the information. You may depend upon it that the Assembly will take it as an obligation, and I am desired to assure you of that."

The narrative of the massacre of the prisoners at Versailles, which was published, a few days afterwards, by the infamous

Hebert, and which contained all the particulars of my death, was certainly one of the measures which Le Cointre alluded to. They flattered themselves that I should take less care to conceal myself, when I saw that they believed I was dead: and as they had no doubts of my being still in Paris, they caused this narrative to be cried through the streets for several days, that it might reach my ears; and it did reach my ears, but without deceiving me; for as I knew that none of my relations or friends had furnished Hebert with this article, I had no doubt of its being a snare laid to entrap me; for which reason I was more cautious than before. The narrative was intitled, "*A circumstantial account of the justice of the people exercised at Versailles upon the aristocrats and counter-revolutionists, who were prisoners at Orleans; with the execution of Brissac, de Lessart, Bertrand, &c., &c.*"¹ And here follows the account given in this narrative of my last moments:

"The next in turn was the late Minister Bertrand, a most incorrigible liar and audacious conspirator. He gave furloughs to the naval officers who had emigrated, asserting, with ef-

¹ A copy of this pamphlet is preserved in the British Museum. The passage relating to Bertrand de Moleville is quite correctly given. The reader who is not familiarly acquainted with the style of Hebert and the other Jacobin journalists, may find an interest in the first paragraph of this pamphlet which reads thus, "The People are slow to anger but terrible in their vengeance. Since the first days of the Revolution our enemies have never ceased from attacking our new-born liberties. Proud of this courage and their strength and purpose, the People, while unmasking these villains, have treated them with magnanimous disdain. This gentle method has served only to make our enemies the more audacious. The long patience of the People is at length at an end, and the conspirators are at last cowering under the just effects of its wrath. Already those of Paris have ceased to exist, and the deaths of thousands of the guilty have expiated their crimes, and fulfilled the requirements of justice."

This is a fair sample of Hebert's journalism, except that it is not ornamented with the oaths and obscenities, which adorn each page of the "*Père Duchesne*."

frontery, to the Legislative Assembly, that they were at their posts. Their pay was transmitted to them to Coblenz, while our ships were left without officers. He attempted, by intreaties and by his usual falsehoods, to move the enraged people. 'Generous citizens (said he), it is true we are guilty, and that, tempted by ambition, we have been the enemies of the people: but although our criminal conduct justly enrages you, remember, at the same time, that you are victorious, and that we are your prisoners. Let our repentance disarm you.' All was in vain. His prayers could not disarm the people. He was put to death, and cut in pieces."

This publication, which unfortunately was as true in the other particulars, as it was false in those which related to me, I thought worth preserving, because, in various emergencies which might naturally occur before I could escape out of France, such a proof of my death might be the means of saving my life.

The Jacobins, enraged that they could not wreak their vengeance on my person, exercised it on my possessions. I was informed, that towards the latter end of the month of September, one of their most infamous agents, named Allard, who unfortunately was at that time mayor of the principal property which I possessed in Languedoc (Montesquieu de Volvestre), had employed a hundred brigands whom he commanded, to burn the chateau in which my father and my family resided part of the year, and in which all my papers were deposited. My father was at that time at Toulouse, oppressed with grief on account of the critical situation in which all his family was, and peculiarly anxious for my brothers, during the massacres of September. Time had lessened the energy of character, without diminishing the sensibility of this venerable old man. Upon the point of sinking under the weight of so many distresses, he was suddenly informed that

his chateau was reduced to ashes. This additional calamity overpowered his remaining strength. He was seized that very day with a burning fever, and expired in less than a week.

While I was shedding bitter tears for the death of an affectionate father, whose favorite I was, I learned that the Jacobins had the barbarity to triumph at this news, and to congratulate each other, that as the succession now descended to me, it could no longer be kept from their rapacity. Allard, their worthy instrument, wanted immediately to sequester my estate, upon the pretext of my having emigrated; and his zeal, on this occasion, doubtless contributed to procure him the honour of being elected member of the Convention. In fact, there were very few villains in the Kingdom more worthy than him of those places, which were at this time the recompense of crimes. If, at this period, law had not been without force, my formal refusal (*repudiation*) of the succession of my father would have transmitted his estate to my brothers: but all the people, to whom I applied for this purpose, refused their assistance, for fear of being accused of the new crime of *leze-nation*.

Hitherto I had cherished hope that some movement within the nation, excited perhaps by the march of the Duke of Brunswick, might take place in favour of the King: but these last hopes were entirely destroyed by the extraordinary news of Dumouriez's success, and the retreat of the Prussians, which filled me with the more regret, because the known ferocity of some of the leading deputies to the Convention, and the republican principles of others, made me despair of being able to be of any service to the King, especially as I was under the necessity of remaining in the closest concealment.

I was undecided what I should do, when the means of escaping out of the Kingdom was offered me by a woman, who

was sincerely devoted to the King, although a different opinion has been entertained of her on account of some of her connections. I abstain from naming this lady² (the Countess de Flahault), lest her generous conduct towards me should bring her into trouble. During my administration, she had given me frequent information, of a nature very useful to the royal family, to whom she was sincerely devoted, although considered by many a decided democrat.

On the present occasion, she sent me word, by my brother, the chevalier, that if I intended to escape to England, she would procure me a passport, undertaking, at the same time, to find me the means of going safely to Boulogne, where she would recommend me to a correspondent of hers, a man of intelligence, who had already embarked two of her friends under false names, and who would do the same thing for me.

I accepted this proposal with great eagerness, only I desired to know how it was to be executed. My brother soon after brought me a passport, which had been originally destined for one of her friends who had paid a hundred louis for it, but who had embarked without its being examined; and, as he had never been asked for his passport, he had returned it to her, that it might assist the escape of some other friend. The date of this passport was two months old, and its form was quite different from that which had been since adopted: there were likewise several corrections necessary for adapting it to

² The lady to whom Bertrand was indebted was Adelaide Marie, Countess de Flahault, wife of the Count de Flahault, who succeeded Buffon as keeper of the Botanical Gardens of Paris, in 1788, and was guillotined at Arras in 1793.

She was on notoriously bad terms with her husband during the last year of his life. She afterwards married the Marquis de Souza-Botelbo, a Portuguese diplomatist. The Countess de Flahault was the author of several novels, such as "Adèle de Senanges," "Charles et Marie," and "Eugène de Rothelin," all famous in their day, but now completely forgotten.

my appearance, instead of the person for whom it was originally intended. My *valet de chambre* being extremely expert at this, and his writing being very like that in the passport, the corrections gave me less uneasiness than the oldness of the date. With regard to the means of getting safe to Boulogne, the lady proposed to send me there by an old servant of her family, who, at that time, drove the mail from Paris to Calais.

This proposal seemed to me so favourable, that I resolved to attempt it, notwithstanding all my uneasiness about the form and the age of my passport. The 12th of October was the day fixed upon for my departure. I had an interval of six days to prepare for this journey. In this interval, having procured the printed form for the new passports, I without scruple fabricated one for my own use.

The danger of crossing Paris in broad daylight, was what I had chiefly to fear. My family, who were extremely alarmed, thought I must be discovered, unless I wore an old black wig very ill dressed.

After a careful search, they at last found one, which they thought would answer the purpose. It is certain that it made a horrible alteration in my appearance, and it was impossible to recognize me: it had, however, this inconvenience, that it made me extremely remarkable; and no patrol or sentinel could see so extraordinary and ridiculous a head, without being convinced that it was intended as a disguise. This consideration made me throw aside the wig, and I adopted no other disguise than having my hair extremely ill dressed and disordered, and wearing a round hat and a brown great coat.

It was in this dress that I set off on the 12th of October, at ten o'clock in the morning, from my landlord's house. I had four travelling companions; one of them was the same M. Thomas formerly mentioned; he was dressed in the uni-

form of a subaltern officer of the National Guard; three others were unacquainted with me, and one of them likewise wore a uniform. The night before, I had sent a bag with my clothes to the mail-carrier for Boulogne; and having hired a hackney coach for St. Denis, I traversed Paris with these four men: we had agreed, that if we were questioned, we should say that we were going to dine at Pierrefite, near St. Denis, and to view a house which was to be sold.

We arrived at that village, which is a quarter of a league beyond St. Denis, without meeting with anything disagreeable; I dined there at the house of an old Italian architect, who was devoted to the lady who had procured the passport, and had advised me to wait at his house for the arrival of the mail for Boulogne.

The mail-carrier let me know the exact hour at which he would pass the heights of Pierrefite; I set out for the road a few minutes sooner. He arrived there almost at the same instant with me, having opened for me his chaise (*brouette*), into which I had a great deal of difficulty to squeeze myself; for he alone could fill three-fourths of it. It was, therefore, impossible to travel less at our ease than we did; and I should never have been able to hold out if the journey had been longer, or if my conductor had not gone out of the chaise at every stage to refresh himself with a glass of brandy. During these moments of respite, I was able to relieve my legs and arms, which were quite numbed by the violent pressure.

I arrived at Boulogne on Saturday night, and I got out at the inn where the mail puts up, so overcome with fatigue, and with the bruises I had received, that I could hardly stand upon my legs.

I instantly asked for a bed-chamber; for although I had not eaten the weight of four ounces of bread the whole journey, yet I had more need of a bed than of anything else.

Next morning I wrote as expeditiously as possible to M. Menneville, citizen of Boulogne, to whom the lady had recommended me, under the name of Vandeberg, a merchant of Liege, the name mentioned in my passport. I informed him of my intention of passing to England in the first packet-boat; and I begged that he would call upon me, to assist me in making the arrangements necessary for my departure.

In less than a quarter of an hour after this letter was sent off, the maid of the inn brought into my room a man six feet high, whose name she did not announce, and who was dressed in the uniform of an officer of the National Guard. I was at first extremely surprised, and even alarmed, at this visit. I could not conceive how this man was so quickly informed of my arrival, and what he had to say to me of so much importance, as to induce him to visit me in spite of the rain which was then pouring down. I was afraid that this was one of those fatal domiciliary visits from which I had with so much difficulty escaped when at Paris. However, I rose from my seat, and went up with confidence to him, saying, with apparent ease, "Pray, what is your business with me, sir?"

"Is it Mr. Vandeberg to whom I have the honour of speaking?" said he.

"Yes, sir, that is my name."

"Ah! sir," replied he, after looking at me steadily, and then making me a profound bow, "I have now the honour of recollecting you perfectly."

Believing that he took me for some other person whom I happened to resemble, I answered, "I fancy, sir, you are mistaken; for I do not remember ever having seen you before."

"Oh! sir, I am sure of what I am saying, though I had only the honour of seeing you once, and but for half a quarter of an hour."

"Where do you think you saw me?" resumed I. "Was it at Liege, at Amsterdam, at —"

"No, sir, not so far off as that; it was at Paris, last January, in the *Rue Royale*, at the marine hotel."

"Are you very sure?"

"Oh! very sure, sir."

"In that case you have a better memory than I."

"Be under no uneasiness, sir; for I remember you, only because I cannot forget your goodness in terminating, in one morning, the business for which I had the honour to see you. It was an affair which took me to Paris, and which I feared would detain me there fifteen days at least; but, through your goodness, I was able to set out the next day after my arrival. I shall be very happy to show my gratitude by serving you in any way I am able."

"But who are you, and how came you to know of my being at Boulogne?"

"Your letter informed me. My name is Menneville."

"Oh! you are M. Menneville. Why did not you tell me? I had not the least conception of it; your uniform put that quite out of my head."

"I am obliged to wear this uniform, because I am an officer in the National Guard; and I am likewise a municipal officer, and ready to obey all M. Bertrand's orders in either capacity."

I accepted his offers very eagerly, and immediately put his good intentions to the proof, in requesting that he would endeavour to get one of my passports examined, that I might not be obliged to present myself to the Municipality, where I might meet some zealous patriot with as good a memory, but without the same inclination to oblige me; and who, on the contrary, might think that to arrest me, was a great act of civism.

M. Menneville said, "What you demand, has never yet been granted to any one; and it is more difficult to obtain it now than ever, on account of the last orders which have been transmitted to us by the Committees at Paris. We are expressly commanded to admit no passport without comparing the description with the person, and without likewise examining if he resembles the descriptions which have been sent us of suspected persons."

"It is exactly this examination which I wish to avoid; I perceive it is not an easy thing, but I hope that your zeal and address will enable you to do me this service. You may say, without a falsehood, that this M. Vandeberg is known to you, and one of your best friends; that an excessive cold hinders him from going out during this rainy weather; that you will answer for the exactness of the description in the passport with my person. The assertions of a Municipal Officer, and one who is likewise an officer of the National Guard, cannot be suspected, provided you appear to think that what you ask can meet with no opposition. And, depend upon it, you will meet with none; only put on a little effrontery, and you will succeed."

"Very well, sir, I shall try; and you may depend upon my doing all I can. What I most fear is, lest they should discover, that the description of M. Bertrand resembles that of M. Vandeberg."

"Do not you know," said I, "that M. Bertrand was massacred at Versailles with the other prisoners from Orleans?"

"That report was circulated," said he; "but those who do not believe in ghosts, may take it into their heads that it was ill-founded."

"I will give you a proof that might convince an infidel," answered I, smiling, and then showed him the narrative of the massacre of Versailles; and, when he read the article respect-

ing me, he laughed heartily. I put my two passports into his hands, that the Municipality might choose that which they liked best.

“All this is very lucky,” said he, as he went away; “I shall now go to the town-house; and I hope to return before dinner with good news.”

He had not left me above two hours, when he came back to my room triumphing, with the two passports in his hands. The Municipality had admitted *that* which they thought the most regular, which was precisely the one I had forged.

I then requested that M. Menneville would hire a place for me in the first packet-boat which should sail for England; and that he would make all the arrangements requisite for my departure. He did everything with the greatest zeal and activity; but unfortunately the wind was adverse, and there was no appearance of its changing.

The bad weather continued for five days more. I remained carefully shut up in my room, lest I should meet some one who might recognise me.

I only saw one old gentleman, who was to go with me to Dover; from whence he was to cross again to Ostend, and proceed to Germany, to carry money to certain *émigrés*. This old gentleman had already made several journeys for the same purpose; and he employed a part of his fortune in support of the emigrant nobility.

On the 19th of October, the rain, which had continued incessant during five days, ceased; the wind calmed, and the most brilliant sun announced a beautiful autumnal day. About nine o'clock in the morning, M. de Menneville sent to give notice, that the packet-boat, in which he had taken my place, was to sail betwixt ten and eleven. I got safe into it without being asked for my passport; so that I might have saved myself the trouble of forging one.

The old gentleman embarked in the same packet-boat; and we mutually exhorted each other to wait patiently till Providence was pleased to send us a breath of wind. It was not till twelve o'clock that we had the pleasure of seeing our sails slightly agitated; and, by slow degrees, swell so as to carry us out. It seemed to me, that I now breathed more freely than I had done for some time; but my heart was deeply affected as the coast of France disappeared by slow degrees from my view.

The idea of flying from my country, like a criminal, under a borrowed name; of being separated, perhaps for ever, from all who rendered life desirable, filled my soul with inexpressible anguish.

CHAPTER XVII.

Singular conversation with a passenger, between Boulogne and Dover.—My arrival in London.—Wait on Lord Grenville.—Two Commissaries from Paris come to arrest me at Boulogne, a little after my departure from that town.—My letter to the Convention.

AFTER three hours' sailing, in which we made but little way, a perfect calm succeeded. The sky became cloudy, and the coast of France was entirely obscured by a thick fog, although we were still at no great distance from it. The conversation of the passengers, in which I heard myself named with exaggerated eulogiums, drew me out of the deep reverie into which I had been for some time plunged. Two of my travelling companions, whom I had at first taken for Englishmen, because I had hitherto only heard them speak English, now began a conversation in French with the old gentleman above mentioned, upon the massacres of the 2d of September. One of them was a Frenchman. He related many horrible circumstances; some altogether incredible, but which it was impossible to contest with him, as he repelled every doubt by declaring that he did not speak from hearsay, but from facts to which he had been himself a witness. He spoke as if he had seen everything with his own eyes.

From the massacres of Paris, he passed to that of the Orleans prisoners at Versailles. He did not mention this as an eye-witness, but only as having heard all the circumstances from an intimate friend, on whose veracity he could depend.

Having exhausted that subject, he gave us a very circumstantial account of my death, and of the regret it had oc-

casioned to many persons of worth, particularly to himself, to his family, and to all his friends. He then pronounced my eulogium with such enthusiasm, that I could not help smiling. My panegyrist observing this, was rather offended.

"How, sir!" said he, drily. "You laugh. Do you think I have said too much?"

"Yes, sir," answered I, "I own I do think that you have gone rather too far. I know M. Bertrand probably better than you do."

"You may perhaps know his figure better than I do," said he, "as I never saw him: but with regard to his conduct, I defy you to know more of that, for nobody has been more attentive to it than I have been."

"I know something of his conduct also," replied I. "It was such as every honest man would have observed in his situation. He did no more than his duty; and I see no great merit in that."

"What do you call no great merit? Sir, I am convinced, that if all had conducted themselves like him, there would have been no Revolution in France."

"No Revolution! Why, the Revolution had taken place before he was appointed to the administration."

"Well," replied he, "M. Bertrand would have moderated it; he would have prevented the catastrophe of the 10th of August: but he had to combat with the Assembly and with the Jacobins.—What could he do more than what he did?"

"Perhaps," added I, "it would have been better that he had not done so much."

"That is very easy to say: but I will venture to stake my life that you will not find one in a hundred of your opinion, except amongst the Jacobins."

"Perhaps you think," said I, "that I belong to that society?"

"To tell you the truth," answered he, "I rather suspect it."

"Well," resumed I, "you will be convinced to the contrary, when I assure you, that M. Bertrand has not a better friend upon earth than myself; that I have no interest in blaming him; and that no person sympathised more sincerely than I did in his misfortunes."

"If that be the case, sir, you really astonish me."

"In what?"

"Because, for so affectionate a friend, you seem to have been very soon comforted for his death, if it ever gave you any uneasiness, since you laugh when it is mentioned."

"Oh! that is perhaps owing to my not being perfectly convinced of his death."

"What do you mean, sir? Were you not in Paris?"

"I only left it on the 12th of this month."

"And did you not read, in all the journals, that M. Bertrand was massacred at Versailles with the Orleans prisoners?"

"Yes, sir; and I also heard his death proclaimed in the streets, and I have a printed relation of it in my pocket: but I doubt the fact, notwithstanding all this."

"And I, sir, who am not more credulous than my neighbours, am, unhappily, but too well assured of the truth of it; because, over and above the testimony of the journals, one of my friends was at Versailles at the time, and saw him massacred. Yes, sir — yes, sir, you may laugh as you please, but my friend, who is a man of veracity, was an eye-witness, and told me of it."

"Don't be offended," answered I, laughing: "but most certainly, if your friend imagined that he saw M. Bertrand, there must be some fault in his vision; he cannot view objects justly."

"This is rather too much. I have nothing to answer to such jokes," said he, turning from me angrily.

“I protest, sir, that I am not in jest; and I only wish to make you easy respecting the fate of M. Bertrand, as you seem interested in him; and you may rely on what I say, that he is alive, and in good health.”

“Can you suppose, sir, that your opinion or assertion alone is sufficient to make me easy? I should be very happy indeed to have good grounds for believing that M. Bertrand is not dead. I am not rich, but I would at this moment give five hundred louis to be assured of it.”

“You certainly have acquired the right of being assured of his safety at a cheaper rate; and after thanking you, in M. Bertrand’s name, for your praises, for your regret, and even for your anger, I must inform you that he is not dead, but in very good health; that he is at this moment going to England in the same packet-boat with you; and, in short, that it is M. Bertrand himself who has the honour of speaking to you.”

“How, sir!—M. Bertrand safe! Is it with him I have been conversing?—Ah! sir, I ask a thousand pardons.—How happy I am to see you! But how have you escaped from these monsters?”

The good man (M. Lafous)¹ was so transported with joy, that he cried and laughed in the same breath. When he had recovered his emotion, I told him my adventures, which he listened to with the greatest attention. From that moment he attached himself to me, and offered me his services in England, where he had passed the greatest part of his life. I did not hesitate in accepting his offer, and he seemed as much

¹ In the first edition of these Memoirs, published in 1816, Bertrand adds the following paragraph:

“The name of this gentleman was Lafous. He was a cadet of a noble family of Picardy, who had long resided, on account of the trade in which he was engaged, in England or the British Colonies.”

pleased and obliged as if I had rendered him an essential service.

To this gentleman I am indebted for my acquaintance with a brave and worthy British general (Robert Melville), in whom I have found, not only the hospitable virtues which have entitled his country to the gratitude of all the French emigrants, but also the most warm and tender interest in the fate of our unfortunate monarch. This gentleman was, indeed, scarcely less shocked at the news of the desperately atrocious murder of Louis XVI. than if he had been a natural-born Frenchman, the most gratefully and zealously devoted to his Majesty. I scarcely ever see him without his speaking to me in the most sympathetic terms of that catastrophe, and of the virtues of that good King. "Believe me, sir," said he to me, one day, "that when your countrymen shall be totally delivered from the tyranny of Robespierre (for the spirit of that monster still attends them), you will see, that the same persons who, by fear and weakness, have called Louis XVI. *Louis the Tyrant*, and, suffered him to be murdered, will justly style him *Louis the overgood*, and make the day of his death a day of general mourning; an anniversary, which would equally evince the sentiments of true liberty, and of a dignified sorrow worthy of a great nation."

During our conversation there arose a fresh gale of wind, and we arrived at Dover about nine o'clock at night. I set off for London next day; and the news of my arrival made the more impression, as the report of my having been massacred had been generally believed. I was informed by some emigrants, who had been that day at the King's levee, that his Majesty had the goodness to express much satisfaction on hearing that I was in London; bestowing, at the same time, very flattering encomiums on my conduct during my administration. Many persons expressed an obliging curiosity of

witnessing my reception at Court, and begged that I would let them know what day I was to be presented to the King; but I deferred it until I should receive my clothes and linen, which were to be sent me from Paris as soon as my embarkation was known. In the meantime I waited upon Lord Grenville, one of the principal secretaries of state, to beg that he would make my grateful acknowledgments to his Majesty and to the Ministers, for the satisfaction they had expressed at my safety. Some days afterwards a particular circumstance made me entirely give up the thoughts of appearing at Court.

The day on which Parliament met, I was, with several other persons, at the window of a house in one of the principal streets through which the King passed, in royal pomp, to the House of Peers. Scarce had the King's coach appeared, when the cry of *Huzza! Huzza!* was repeated a thousand times by the populace. On witnessing this universal joy, my mind was painfully recalled to the misfortunes of my King, and the crimes of which my country was the theatre. The striking contrast betwixt the situation of George III., blessed by his people, and that of Louis XVI., imprisoned by his subjects, filled my heart with sorrow; and I hurried from the place, to hide the tears which ran down my cheeks in abundance. From that moment I renounced the idea of being presented to their Majesties, as the sight of a King, Queen, and royal family, in the full enjoyment of that respect and happiness which are due to their high rank and character, would have brought a painful contrast to my memory, which I should not have supported with any degree of composure.

Three days after my arrival in London, I received a letter from a friend at Boulogne, in which he congratulated me on having escaped two Commissaries of the Municipality of Paris, who came to Boulogne on purpose to arrest me. They arrived at the inn half an hour after my departure, and de-

manded that M. de Vandeberg might be delivered up to them.

I do not imagine that the Commune of Paris knew that M. de Vandeberg and the ex-Minister Bertrand was the same person: but I presume that the spies which were in that inn had written an account of a man called Vandeberg, who kept himself shut up in his chamber; at the same time describing my person. However this may be, it is certain, that if I had not been embarked, I should have been arrested, carried to Paris, and delivered up to the Jacobins.

After having thus secured my life against the dangers which threatened me, the King's situation, and the means of securing my fortune for my children, became the principal objects of my thoughts. The violence of the new Assembly had sufficiently appeared. I was convinced that the King's trial was resolved on, and would take place as soon as the promoters of so daring a measure should think the public mind was able to endure it. In this situation of things, as I could not form an idea of what crime they could lay to his Majesty's charge, I thought that the best measure I could adopt was to endeavour to keep the public in suspense respecting the justice of any possible accusation; and I expected to succeed by announcing to the Convention that I had certain important discoveries to make, the proofs of which I would transmit to them soon.

This was the object I had in view when I wrote the following letter, apparently on the subject of my own emigration:

To the President of the National Convention.

"LONDON, Nov. 6, 1792.

"Monsieur le President,

"Although the right of resisting oppression necessarily implies that of escaping from it, when every means of resistance are annihilated; as it is no less repugnant to my character,

than to my principles, to fly from my enemies, and desert my country, I am eager to signify, under my own hand, to the National Convention, my temporary absence from the Kingdom, and the urgent circumstances which have rendered it indispensable. They are detailed in the acts, the substance of which follows:

“On the 11th of October, in the year 1792, I, Antoine-François Bertrand de Moleville, late Minister of State for the Navy, having experienced on the part of all the public officers to whom I addressed myself, the most formal refusal to retain or to expedite any act of mine, from the fear of exposing themselves to danger on my account, have written the following declaration in my own hand, until circumstances shall permit me to send it in a more authentic form.

“Being myself the object of a persecution as unjust as barbarous, marked out as a person suspected of the greatest crimes, although I have not the slightest offence to reproach myself with, and there is not the shadow of a proof to bring against me, I have been reduced to the necessity of concealing myself for more than two months. I had undoubtedly a right to hope, that after so long a period, the rage of my enemies might have been softened; but the fortunate accident which preserved me from them, has only served to irritate them the more. Not satisfied with attempts aimed at my person, and exercised against my property, the Committee of Surveillance of the Municipality of Paris did not hesitate to order my two brothers to be arrested, without the existence of any accusation, and to be thrown into the prisons of the *Abbaye* and *de la Force*, a few days before the massacre of the prisoners; and, upon the representation which the youngest of the two endeavoured to make against the illegality of a groundless imprisonment, the Commissary who examined him, made this shocking answer: ‘People of your rank have so long em-

ployed the *lettres de cachet* of despotism, it is now time to make you feel the *lettres de cachet* of the people.' The people themselves, however, had the justice, even on the horrible 2d of September, to spare my brothers, and openly to proclaim their innocence. My enemies thus disappointed, attacked me in another quarter, and have completed my misfortunes, having very lately burnt to the ground the *chateau*, which was the principal residence of my family; and all the title deeds, furniture, and effects it contained, were devoured by the flames. My unfortunate father, already broken by the infirmities of age, sunk under these accumulated calamities, and expired a few days after.

"Oppressed by the weight of this last misfortune, and unable to support the idea of having been even the innocent cause of so great a pecuniary loss to my brothers, I did not hesitate one moment to take the only measure which could indemnify them. In consequence whereof, I have already declared to them, and I again declare, that I renounce the succession to my father in whatever it does or may consist; and that I give my full consent, that it may be divided according to law, as if I no longer existed; and as my present situation deprives me of all the means of giving to this declaration the necessary authenticity to insure its validity, and as the succession to my father is still open, and can no longer remain in suspense, I do hereby promise and oblige myself to find out, as soon as possible, in some foreign, but not hostile country, a public officer, who will receive in trust this present deed, which I conclude with the following solemn declaration: That so far from wishing to abandon my country, where I have left everything dear to me as a pledge for my return, I shall be very earnest to go back as soon as the impunity of the greatest crimes shall cease to be regarded as one of the prerogatives of liberty.

“Given at Paris, the day and year aforesaid; and a copy of these presents, written and signed by my own hand, as the original, was delivered by me on the same day to my two brothers, until such time as I should be enabled to send them a more formal deed.

(Signed)

“DE BERTRAND.”

“Anxious to fulfil so sacred an engagement, and having, besides, been for a long time desirous of becoming acquainted with so celebrated a nation, I took my departure for England. The first step after my arrival, was to renew, in an authentic form, drawn up by the notary of the *Legation* of France, my renunciation of all claim to my father’s succession, and to send it to my brothers.

“Such are the only motives for my departure. It is indeed perfectly evident, that had the best founded apprehensions for my personal safety been sufficient to induce me to quit France, I should not have delayed it so long; for I always had the best information concerning the measures which were taken to discover the place of my concealment, and to secure me in some of the prisons previous to the massacres of September, either at La Force, the Abbaye, or at Orleans, before that ever to be execrated epoch, the 2d of September. What then can be the motive of such a continued rancour against me? This is difficult to explain, when it is considered that the continual persecutions experienced by me, during my Ministry, produced only one memorial; and that solely founded on three assertions, which appeared to be false by the report itself, as I have proved in my statement to the Assembly. It ought to be remembered, that the only object of the Assembly’s memorial to the King, was to prove, that I did not deserve the confidence of the nation, although this proposition had been formally rejected the preceding evening

by a decree passed after an open vote. If it be possible that any doubts can still remain concerning my innocence, they will be entirely removed by the very decree of accusation, which was passed on the 16th of August last, against those persons who were in the Ministry on the 11th of the preceding November, and consequently against me. That decree is founded solely upon some expressions, as vague as insignificant, written in an unknown hand, on a piece of paper, which they pretended to have found in the King's apartment on the 10th of August. A man must be pure indeed, and perfectly free from any real error, to have the honour of being accused of an imaginary fault, upon a writing which, from every report, is evidently unworthy of credit.

“It must be acknowledged, however, that at a moment when the laws were without force, justice without Ministers, and innocence without support; when the people, thinking they observed conspirators and traitors on every side, and breathed nothing but vengeance; a decree of accusation against Ministers might be considered as expedient for appeasing the general ferment. I allow also, that the same circumstances equally opposed the success of the petitions addressed by me to the Legislative body against this decree, four days after it passed; but, at this day, when the re-establishment of the empire of justice, and of the laws, is so ardently desired by every citizen; when the people are sensible of the excesses into which they have been hurried, is it possible that such a decree of accusation can be maintained? It would be consecrating a most shocking injustice; besides, the dignity of the French nation does not permit its representatives to issue a decree of accusation upon suspicions entirely vague, and without a shadow of proof. The most alarming abuse which the members of the National Assembly could make of their

non-responsibility, would be to trifle with the lives, the liberty, and the honour of their fellow-citizens, in such a manner. What remorse must not those members feel who have rashly promoted, or feebly opposed Decrees, by which so many persons, the generality quite innocent, were thrown into prison; in consequence of which, they were afterwards put to the most horrid death?

“Firmly convinced, that the National Convention will not choose to expose itself to similar regrets, I have the honour of addressing to you my remonstrances against the decree of the 16th of August; and I beseech you, sir, to lay it before the Assembly. I would willingly hope that they will attend to it, and that my enemies will not have it in their power to prevent the justice of the Assembly, by renewing those calumnies which have served as a motive for all the troubles they have forced me to endure, particularly the inquisitions, as violent as fruitless, made not only at my own house, but also at those of my relations and neighbours, under the pretence of discovering proofs of my supposed criminal correspondence with the Court, and of my being an accomplice in the conspiracies, true or false, with which they accuse the royal family. I give you, sir, previous notice, that I shall address, without delay, to the Assembly an authentic declaration of all the important and unknown transactions which came under my observation during and since my administration, which have any relation to the present circumstances. I will point out the evidences and proofs of all those which the Assembly shall be inclined to examine. I will unfold all I know; and what I shall say, may lead to many interesting discoveries.

(Signed)

“DE BERTRAND.”

Memorial addressed to the National Convention against the Decree of accusation passed the 16th of August 1792, against the former Ministers.

“The powers of accusing without any proof, and of punishing without legal judgment, are the attributes of the most shocking despotism. None of these powers can exist under a free government, in which the Representatives of the Nation are in the happy incapacity of violating the rights of men.

“The law ought to be the same to every person, whether it punishes or protects (Declaration of Rights, Art. 6); and similar faults should be punished with similar chastisements, without any personal distinction. (Tit. 1, Art. 3.)

“The memorial I now present to the Convention is so deeply founded upon the essential bases of natural rights, that it is impossible to reject it without totally annihilating them.

“On the 16th of last August, upon the simple reading of a note pretended to have been found in the King’s apartment, and dated the 11th of the preceding November, there was passed without examination, or previous discussion of the form of that writing, or its contents, a decree of accusation against all the persons who composed the then Ministry, and consequently against me.

“The note is intitled, ‘A *Plan* of the Committee of Ministers, concerted with MM. Alexandre Lameth and Barnave.’

“I must declare and affirm, without danger of contradiction, 1st, That I was never acquainted either with MM. Lameth, nor Barnave: I only saw the latter once at my house, in the beginning of my administration, on the business of the colonies, of which he had been the reporter. I have not seen him since, and am ignorant what has become of him.

“2dly, I have not the slightest knowledge of the note in question, nor of its contents; and I affirm, that during my

Ministry, nothing of what is mentioned in that note, was ever spoken of at the Council, or at any of the Ministerial Committees where I assisted.

“This affirmation could, undoubtedly, be of no effect against proof; but, in the present case, I have not the most trifling evidence to combat. In reality, before this writing can be considered as evidence, it must appear to have been written either in the King’s own hand, or in that of one of his Ministers; for, if the merely being named or marked out in any writing found in the apartment of the King, were sufficient to prove a man criminal, where is there an honest citizen who would be secure? It cannot be forgotten, that on the morning of the 10th of August, the King’s apartments were open to all who chose to enter; that it was as easy for them, privately to drop papers there, as it was to carry them away.

“But even although the note in question had been written by the King himself, or one of his Ministers; and that this fact (concerning which the commissioners appointed to open the seals were silent) was completely established, it would still remain for examination, whether the project concerted by the Ministers with MM. Barnave and Lameth, was really contrary to the interests of the state; for a project advantageous to the nation, surely cannot appear a crime in the eyes of its representatives, whoever the persons were who planned it.

“The first article of this note, and the one which has undoubtedly made the most forcible impression, contains only two words.

“1. *To refuse the sanction.*

“Upon this vague expression, I shall content myself with observing, that *the sanction* being a right *essentially inherent* in royalty, and with which the Monarch was personally invested by the Constitution, not as the head of the executive power, but in the capacity of the representative of the nation,

I never saw the exercise of this right submitted to the deliberations of the Council. Upon Decrees concerning the detail of office, the King heard only the observations which the Minister of the particular Department made to him; on other matters, he decided according to his information, and his conscience.

“These facts and principles, the accuracy of which cannot be questioned, show how contrary it would be to justice and the Constitution, to pronounce a decree of accusation against Ministers for an act with which they had no concern, and which was not within the line of their responsibility, whether they were consulted concerning the sanction or not.

“The four next articles relate to intended measures; some of which never took place.

“The remainder of this note assigns to the Ministers of Justice, of Foreign Affairs, of War, and of the Interior, parts to perform which none of them ever acted; and no mention was made in it of the Ministers of Finance or Marine.

“Thus, even although the paper should be received as authentic, it would be impossible to discover the most trifling evidence against the two last.

“Behold then to what a writing is reduced, the mere reading of which produced a decree of accusation *par acclamation* against all the Ministers in office in the month of last November? It is, undoubtedly, not astonishing, that in moments of confusion and general irritation, the proclaiming a plot, concerted betwixt Ministers and persons at that time suspected, should impel the majority of the Assembly to the most unfavourable side: but although such an impulse may be justified by circumstances, it will be oppressive in its effects, if the justice of the Assembly do not stop them.

“Fortunately, indeed, the act of accusation has not yet been drawn up, and consequently there is still time to submit to a

cool and deliberate examination this anonymous paper, destined to serve as the basis of an accusation, the most important which can be brought before the Representatives of the Nation, since its necessary effect is at once to stain the characters of six Ministers with the suspicion of treason, thereby drawing on them the fury of popular vengeance.

“In comparing the note in question with the events which happened about the time of its date, it is obvious it could not refer to anything but to the message of the 12th of November, the object of which was, in effect, to announce the refusal of the sanction of a Decree concerning the emigrants, the proclamation published against them the same day, and the requisitions addressed to the different foreign powers to prevent the assembling of Frenchmen in their dominions; consequently this note, founded on idle conjectures and conversations which preceded the above measures, can only be considered as one of those written hand-bills, so frequent at that time, to serve the purposes of private malice.

“After having thus demonstrated, that a writing, from every consideration so unworthy the attention of the legislative body, ought still less to serve as a basis for a capital accusation, I will venture to claim in my favour, the benefit of those forms, wisely established and constantly observed, until now, in matters of impeachment. It is without example, before the 16th of August, that a decree of accusation should be passed, even against a single Minister, without having the writings and facts, alleged against the accused, examined and verified by a committee, to which the person accused might apply. Even lately, an accusation, probably ill-founded, but of a very serious nature, was brought against M. Servan. The legislative body did not hesitate to refer the examination of it to one of their committees; and until the report which was to be made had completely exculpated

him, the Assembly was so scrupulous of admitting any opinion unfavourable to M. Servan, that they recalled him to the Ministry in that interval.

“Supported by this example, and by the declaration of the rights of men, which the new order of things has not annihilated, and the 6th article of which says, ‘That the law ought to be the same for all, whether in giving protection or inflicting punishment’; I request that the Decree of the 16th of last August be recalled, and consequently that the note of the 11th of November 1792, said to be found in the King’s apartment, be referred to a Committee of the National Convention, and, on their report, that a decision should be made according to law; and after such examination, if the decree of accusation against me should be confirmed, being as void of fear as of guilt, I will offer myself to trial as soon as the empire of law and justice shall be re-established in France.

(Signed)

“DE BERTRAND.”

I certainly had no reason to expect to be considered as an emigrant, after having so solemnly declared the motives which forced me, not to abandon, but to withdraw myself, for a time, from my country; and after declaring that I would even submit to the decree of accusation, if, upon the report of the Committee to whose consideration it was to be submitted, that Decree should be confirmed. Even the atrocious code of Robespierre himself did not comprehend in the class of emigrants those who had no other means than flight to avoid the poniard of the assassin; and I may venture to assert, that there is no person in France who is not convinced that I should have long since lost my life, if I had remained.

A few days after my departure, which the Assembly knew nothing of until they received my letter, all the effects, moveable or immovable, which belonged to me, or rather to my

son, as substituted by my contract of marriage, were seized; and notwithstanding the right to those effects, which the severest laws against emigration left in my mother, brothers, sister, wife and children, all of whom remained in France, yet all this property was sold while my family were shut up in different prisons, during the dreadful tyranny of Robespierre. But what seems more extraordinary, all the remonstrances they have made, and means they have since used, for their recovery, have been ineffectual. Is, then, the singular good fortune of having escaped to a land of freedom, from the fury of the Jacobins, looked upon, in France, as a crime of so deep a die, that my family must suffer for it? Let those villains continue to throw upon me the epithets traitor, infamous person, liar, &c., &c.; I consider myself as honoured by their reproaches. I have ever been ambitious of their hatred. Thank God, I have well deserved it. I acknowledge that I neglected no opportunity of exposing their wickedness. I did all I could (unhappily my efforts were vain) to save the best of Kings, and to spare France the lasting odium of his murder. Such are my crimes. I repeat it—I glory in them; and I am ready to suffer on the scaffold if they can prove any other against me. But what are the crimes of my brothers and my children? Is it that they are suspected of regretting that my efforts have not been successful? I hope they regret this—I am sure they do; and if such regrets be a crime, I congratulate them in having the worthiest people of every nation, and particularly those of France, as accomplices.

PRIVATE MEMOIRS OF

CHAPTER XVIII.

Preparations for the trial of the King.—Valazé and Mailhe's reports.—Declaration of M. de Septeuil, Treasurer of the Civil List.—Declaration of M. de Grave, late Minister.—M. de Narbonne.—My second letter to the National Convention.

THE same day in which I addressed the letters and papers mentioned in the foregoing chapter, to the President of the Assembly, the deliberations on the King's process were opened, and the opinions, or rather vociferations, of the most atrocious villains of the Kingdom, plainly showed what would be the issue. The four following questions were submitted to the discussion of the Assembly:

1st, Are there grounds of accusation against Louis XVI?

2d, Can he be tried?

3d, By whom ought he to be tried?

4th, What forms ought to be adopted on the trial?

The only difficulty the Assembly could have was on the first of these questions; because it could not be decided but upon very plain and important facts, of which the people, whose approbation it was necessary to secure, were capable of judging. Whereas it was easy to render the discussion of the three other questions unintelligible, by overcharging them, as they did, with abstract metaphysical dissertations on the right of nations, on the sovereignty of the people, and on the Constitution and the criminal code.

The report made the 6th of November, by Dufriche Valazé, ran chiefly on the first question, namely, whether there were grounds of accusation against Louis? This consisted entirely

of declamations, indecently violent, founded upon vague reports, totally insignificant or unintelligible, upon assertions evidently false, and on acts for which the Ministers alone were responsible. The only articles of accusation for which they were not responsible, and which the reporter asserted would be supported by authentic papers, were the following:

In the first place, the King's participation in the pretended plot of the Marquis de Bouillé against the nation.

Secondly, Transmitting their appointments to the *Gardes du Corps*, who were at Coblenz.

Thirdly, Favouring the emigration, and granting pecuniary succours to the emigrants.

Fourthly, The monopolizing of corn, sugar, and coffee, for his own profit.

Fifthly, A design to overturn the Constitution, to which he had sworn to be faithful.

Sixthly, The establishment of a new order of Knighthood among the emigrants, with the title of *Knights of the Queen*.

The *Moniteur*, containing an extract of the report made on the 7th, which only treated of the question of the inviolability, arrived in London on the 12th of October. I was no sooner informed of this than I searched in my notes for every fact that might tend to diminish the unfavourable impression which the two reports might have produced. I mentioned all these facts in a second letter to the National Assembly. M. de Septeuil also addressed a declaration to the Assembly, made before a notary, and confirmed by his oath, taken before the Mayor of London, attesting, that no appointment had been paid to the *Gardes du Corps*, nor to any person belonging to the King's former household, except to such as showed him the certificate for residence in France, ordered by the Decree of the Assembly, although every one of the *Gardes du Corps*, whether they had emigrated or not, were included in the list

presented to the Assembly by the reporter; which list had been drawn up in this manner, because they had no legal proof of the emigration of any individual among them. But this list, so far from proving that the emigrated *Gardes du Corps* had received pay, proved precisely the contrary, as their appointments were mentioned in the lists as a memorandum, and the money still remained in the chest of the Civil List on the 10th of August 1792, conformable to the King's express order sent by M. de La Porte to M. de Septeuil.

The Chevalier de Grave, formerly Minister of War, sent, at the same time, from London, a declaration in justification of the King, respecting certain acts which had taken place in his Department. M. de Narbonne, his predecessor, with loyal generosity, offered, in a printed letter addressed to the Convention, to be responsible for every accusation with which the King was charged; and he invited all the former Ministers of France, at that time in London, to take the same step in concert with him: but having seriously considered the matter, it appeared to us as visionary as useless; because, as Ministers we were of course responsible to the nation for whatever was done in our own Department; and it was not possible to conceive that our responsibility would be accepted for what was done out of our Department. Although we did not think proper to adopt the proposal of M. de Narbonne, we did not the less acknowledge the generosity of his intentions.

I made my second letter to the Convention still more public than the first. Besides 1,500 copies printed in London, which I sent to France, there were other editions printed and distributed in Paris the same week. I omitted mentioning, in the course of these Memoirs, the contents of this letter, as I thought it would be proper to insert the letter itself, as an authentic paper connected with the King's trial.

“London, Nov. 16, 1792.

“*Monsieur le President,*

“I had the honour of announcing, in my last letter, that I should, without delay, address to you an exact declaration of all the important and unknown facts with which I am acquainted, and which have any relation to the present circumstances. I am the more eager to fulfil this engagement, since I learn, from the public papers, that the great question, Whether Louis XVI. ought to be tried? is at present open for discussion, and that the National Convention are disposed to receive lights and proofs from every quarter on that momentous subject. I flatter myself it will receive, with satisfaction, those I now have the honour of addressing to you, because I am firmly convinced that it seeks nothing but truth, and desires nothing but justice. This conviction alone is sufficient to allay the inquietudes of good citizens, and to keep up the hopes of those who, having had opportunities of nearly observing the conduct of Louis XVI., and of knowing his virtues, cannot help taking a great interest in his misfortunes.

“The following, then, are the facts, the truth of which I attest, and of which I can either give or point out proofs:

*On the pretended favours and assistance given to
the emigrants.*

“It is published in all the journals and in all the pamphlets, and has been repeated a thousand times from the tribune, that the King always approved of and favoured emigration. This opinion, unsupported by proof, has become general in the Kingdom, and is the principal motive of the regicide addresses daily received.

“Towards the end of October 1791, one of the Ministers having informed the King, in full Council, of a report, generally circulated, that the emigrants in arms against France, and particularly the bodyguards, were in the pay of the civil

list, 'This,' replied the King, in the firmest tone, 'is an egregious calumny, for I have, on the contrary, given the most express orders to M. de La Porte, that none should receive pay but those who were able to show the certificate required by the decree of last July 1791. I am certain this order is put in execution. It was proposed to me to make an exception in favour of the *Gardes du Corps*, but I refused.'

"Notwithstanding this order, the existence of which can be attested by many deputies to whom it was originally communicated, and which must have been found among the papers of M. de Septeuil, they have continued to give out, that the emigrated *Gardes du Corps* were paid by the Civil List; and this is affirmed as certain, in the 10th and 11th pages of the report made to the Assembly at the sitting of the 27th of September last. The reporter was not aware that the only writings cited by him, in support of his assertion, clearly demonstrate its falsehood. The first is a memorial found in the King's writing-desk, in which M. de Poix proposed the paying the whole corps of *Gardes du Corps* up to the 1st of January 1792. If the King had approved this proposal, he would have affixed his assent to the memorial, and sent it to the Intendant of the Civil List. Thus, from the circumstance alone of this memorial being found in the King's writing-desk, without any mark of his approbation, is a complete proof that the payment proposed by M. de Poix had not been ordered by the King. As to those orders of payment signed by the King at the bottom of the general lists of the four companies of his guards, it is sufficient to compare those lists with the register of payments, to be convinced, that in reality only those of the *Gardes du Corps*, who proved their residence according to the form prescribed by the decree, were paid; and that if the ordinance lists contained all the names, it proceeded entirely from an ignorance of who had, and who had

not emigrated. For the same reason the Ministers of War and Marine, in their respective departments, regulated, in a similar manner, the general lists of the officers of the different corps, without violating the Decree concerning the certificates of residence, because its execution was always guaranteed by the vigilance and personal responsibility of the treasurers, conformably to the regulations of this Decree. It is also proved, by a letter of M. de Poix, in the 16th page of the thirteenth collection of papers found in the house of M. de La Porte, that the execution of these orders for payment of the *Gardes du Corps* was so much retarded, that on the 28th of last January there had been nothing paid of the arrears due for the first six months of 1791.

“Were I now to cite the letters written by the King, in the beginning of October 1791, to the officers of the army, and of the corps of marines, to induce those who had left the Kingdom to return, and to retain those who intended to emigrate, I should undoubtedly be told, that these letters, being the works of the Ministers, no conclusion could be drawn from them: but I declare, that the minute written to the officers of marine remained two days in the King’s possession, who, with his own hand, made many corrections in it, some in the margin, others interlined; and this minute, with many other important papers, must have been found in a red port-folio, which the commissioners of the Committee of Surveillance of the Municipality carried away from my house with my other papers. I must presume that this writing has been suppressed, since there is no mention made of it in the report made to the Assembly the 6th of this month. It would, however, be of the more importance to produce this paper, because the corrections in it being the King’s own, the free and pure expression of his sentiments may there be found. I have no doubt, therefore, but the National Convention feels the neces-

sity of ordering that paper to be searched for and produced.

“The King expressly commanded me to employ, in his name, every method of persuasion and authority to prevent the emigration of the officers of marine; and if the execution of this order had not all the success I could have desired, I at least used every exertion in my power; and am not afraid, on this point, to call upon the testimony of the chief clerks of my office. I cannot, indeed, quote many written proofs, but shall mention one of sufficient weight to render any other unnecessary from me.

“A superior officer, of the most distinguished merit, having been forced, by frequent outrages, to give up his command, came to Paris, last February, with the intention of leaving the Kingdom. After having in vain attempted, by my advice and exhortations, to dissuade him from his purpose, I mentioned the affair to the King, who authorised me to send him an order, couched almost in similar terms with the old *lettres de cachet*. The words follow:

“ ‘Sir,

“ ‘Being informed that your knowledge and experience enable you to give important information concerning the marine service, my pleasure is, that you hold yourself in readiness to furnish the Minister of that Department with the informations he may require from you. On this account I prohibit you from leaving Paris until further order, under pain of disobedience.

(Signed)

LOUIS.

And under, DE BERTRAND.’

“The minute of this order, addressed to M. de Marigny¹

¹ Gaspart Augustin Rene Bernard de Marigny, with his cousin, the Marquis de Lescure, was present at the Tuileries on the 10th August. Immediately afterwards they made their way to their native province of Poitiers. Here they were arrested and imprisoned at Bressaire

should be found in my Office in the Bureau of Officers, amongst the minutes of the month of February. If it has been accidentally withdrawn, M. de Marigny, who has not left Paris, will produce the original.

"I must here declare, that amongst the officers whom I persuaded to stay at Paris, to insure their not leaving the Kingdom, there were some who were unable to support themselves, to whom the King ordered different sums of money to be paid, sometimes by me, at other times by M. de La Porte. The last which was sent to me by the King, for this purpose, was the sum of 12,000 livres, in the beginning of March 1792. If the National Convention be desirous minutely to examine this matter, I can point out to whom the money was given.

"How then is it possible to reconcile the reproaches which are thrown out against the King, relative to the emigrants, with all these facts, none of which can be disputed?

but were released by Henri de La Rochejaquelin when he captured the town on the 30th May 1793.

Both took service and became distinguished officers in the royalist army of La Vendee.

Marigny organized and commanded the Vendee, an artillery in the attacks on Thouars, Sanmur, Lucon, Le Mans and many other notable actions. In 1794, serious dissensions arose between the three leaders of the Vendeeans, Stofflet, Charette and Marigny. Stofflet assumed the title of General-in-chief of the Royal Army of Anjore, and Marigny consented to command an army corps under Stofflet's supreme command.

After a reverse on the 25th April 1794, Marigny was ordered to resign the command and to return to the artillery. He refused and left the camp at the head of a body of his own soldiers.

This was adjudged by Stofflet and Charette to be an act of desertion, and Marigny was captured and shot by order of the two other chiefs on the 10th July 1796.

The episode produced a general feeling of indignation against Stofflet. Marigny's division dispersed and hastened the conversion of what had hitherto been a combined and disciplined force under arms, into a number of partisan bands, sometimes hardly distinguishable from banditti.

*On the treasons and conspiracies in which it is pretended
the King had a share.*

“These names certainly cannot be given to the measures, always weak and insufficient, taken for the personal security of the King, and of which he never failed to prevent the effect, when he observed the avowed assassins accompanied by a party of the people; because, while surrounded by them, he was always confident that he had no danger to fear. We saw him, on the 20th of June, remove from his person those faithful servants who were ready to spill the last drop of their blood in his defence, and present himself, accompanied by four National Guards, to the armed multitude, who had come to force open the gates of the Palace.

“It is impossible, at this day, to doubt, that a formidable conspiracy was formed against the court. The deputies Louvet and Barbaroux arrived, and attested this important fact in the tribune, in the sitting of the 30th of October. ‘It was at Charenton,’ said they, ‘that the conspiracy against the court was fixed to be executed on the 29th of July, but which did not take place until the 10th of August’ (Moniteur of the 1st of November, page 1298, col. 3). The King having been informed of this, did undoubtedly take some precautions to defend the Palace from this impending attack: but as soon as he knew, from the members of the Directory of the Department, that thousands of the citizens and National Guard had joined the conspirators who surrounded the Palace, he did not hesitate to deliver himself and family to the National Assembly, leaving orders for the Swiss not to fire. When the King had determined to deliver himself up to the Assembly, he spoke to the Ministers and others, who were around him, these memorable, though too little known words: “Let us depart, gentlemen; there is nothing for us to do here.” This

was certainly giving the clearest and most positive order to stay no longer at the Palace, since nothing was to be done there. And if this order had (as it ought) been officially conveyed to the Swiss officers and guards, they would have all retired; the entry to the Palace would have been left open; and though perhaps it might have been demolished, yet not a musket would have been fired, or a drop of blood shed. Unfortunately this order was not conveyed to the Swiss. From thence it followed, on the one hand, that the Swiss, the National Guard, and all those who had repaired to the Palace to defend the King, believed he was only anxious about his personal safety, and complained that he had abandoned them; while, on the other, the people believed that the King, at his departure, had ordered the resistance and firing which happened. Such is the origin of the suspicions and clamours against the pretended treasons of the King, and the conspiracies of the Court. These details are corroborated by so many ocular witnesses, that it is impossible I can ever call their truth in question. They prove that the reproaches against the King are not better founded on one side than on the other. It is indeed certain, that the gates of the Court Royal were forced without any resistance on the part of the Swiss, who did not fire until five of their companions had been massacred at the bottom of the great stair. The events of the 10th of August can, no more than those of the 20th of June, furnish the slightest cause of accusation against the King. It is therefore necessary to look for proofs in his conduct prior to these periods. But it is impossible, with any share of candour, to form conclusions against him from letters, memorials, or plans, addressed to him, and which were found, or said to be found, either in the Palace or the house of M. de La Porte. If treasonable or criminal writings could involve

the persons to whom they are addressed, the lives of the most innocent and most virtuous of mankind would always be in the power of the most wicked.

“With regard to the numerous writings, the printing of which were paid out of the Civil List, and which are quoted as so many proofs of treason, it is sufficient to remark, that before the abolition of royalty, the anti-republican writings were so much the less reprehensible, that at the memorable sitting of the 7th of July last, the Assembly decreed unanimously, and by acclamation, that those who should propose a republican Government, or the establishment of two chambers, should be devoted to public execration. The violent writers on both sides were indeed equally distant from the spirit and principles of the Constitution; and their incendiary productions supported and maintained the agitation of the people. It was incumbent on the King to turn his attention to the serious inconveniences which must have resulted from hence. Obligated by his oath to maintain the Constitution by every possible means, his authority and his duty prompted him to choose as one of those means, the instructing of the people by prudent Constitutional writings, which might operate as antidotes to the dangerous pamphlets daily published. It is, however, certain, that both my colleagues and myself considered it as our duty to give this advice to the King, and accordingly we often did give it. Thus it is very possible such an order was given to the Intendant of the Civil List. As to the method in which it was executed, everybody must be sensible the King could not possibly enter into all the detail of the business. Besides, it is an established principle, that the most culpable execution of a lawful order can never involve the person who gives that order, but only he who executes it. An order to distribute prudent and Constitutional

writings was certainly legal. The King had the right of giving such an order, and he assuredly gave no other. But the following facts personally concern the King, and from them we can judge of his true sentiments.

FIRST FACT.

“I showed the greatest reluctance to accept the Ministry; and I cannot deny that my principal reason for this reluctance was my uncertainty of the real sentiments of the King relative to the Constitution. He was informed of this; and when I was presented to him, on the 3d of October, by the Minister of the Interior, he addressed me, in his presence, in the very words which follow:

“‘I know your uneasiness, and do not blame your desiring to know how it is expected that you should conduct yourself. I now inform you, that I do not pretend to consider the Constitution as unexceptionable. I am even convinced, that had not the Assembly prohibited the receiving my observations, it would have adopted the principal alterations which I would have proposed. But that is now over. I have accepted the Constitution in its present form. The general opinion is in its favour; we can therefore no longer think of changes, until experience shall make us feel the necessity of them; for force can do nothing against opinion. The success of this experience depends upon the fidelity with which the Constitution is carried into execution; and it is my intention to execute it as completely and as well as possible. Such, then, is the line of conduct I have marked out for *myself*, and I require my Ministers not to depart from it. If the means for carrying it into execution may appear insufficient, or if they experience embarrassments, let them appeal to the Assembly.’

“The Queen, to whom I was presented the same day, spoke

to the same purpose; and concluded with saying, 'Observe the plan the King has adopted; I think it is the only reasonable one, and hope you will not make him change it.'

"I affirm this fact upon my honour and conscience, and will support this affirmation with my oath, which I offer to renew before whatever person, and in whatever form, the Assembly shall think proper to prescribe. Upon my return home, I immediately made a memorandum of what the King and Queen had said. This memorandum, dated the 3d of October, was in the same red port-folio which the commissioners of the Committee of Surveillance of the Municipality carried away. If the National Convention think proper to order that it should be searched for, it will not be difficult to have it laid before them.

SECOND FACT.

"Towards the end of December last, or the beginning of January 1792, an old officer, retired from the service, came to consult me, at the Navy Office, upon a proposal which had been made to him, the evening before, to enter into an association with some gentlemen to escort the King, who intended, as they said, soon to leave the Kingdom. The person who made this proposal to him introduced himself at his house under the title of a Marechal de Camp, and gave him twenty-four hours to reflect on the subject. I advised the person who gave me this information to show a disposition to join the association, provided they would explain to him the whole of their plan, their means of executing it, and inform him of the persons who were engaged in it. I expressly enjoined him to forget nothing they might tell him, and particularly to make himself acquainted with the name and residence of this Marechal de Camp. He promised to acquaint me soon with the result of his second conversation. He accordingly

gave me, the very next day, a detailed account of what passed. I took an exact memorandum of it, which I read the same night at the Council. The King was full of indignation, and ordered the Minister of the Interior immediately to denounce this association to the Directory of the Department, and to enjoin him to make every possible search after this pretended Marechal de Camp, to watch him narrowly, and even to seize his person, if there should be occasion. As this letter was instantly written by M. Cahier de Gerville, and sent directly after the Council, it is possible that he did not keep a memorandum of it: but the original may be easily found among the papers of the Directory of the Department. The inquiries ordered by the King were carefully made. They discovered the usual residence of this man, but he had concealed himself in such a manner, that it was not possible to seize him. It appeared, moreover, by the accounts obtained at the police-office, concerning him, that he was a worthless, wrong-headed fellow. But whatever truth there is in this, the conduct of the King, in this affair, proves, at least, that he did not favour associations formed under pretence of consulting his personal safety.

THIRD FACT.

“In January last, M. Cahier de Gerville, reading in the Council a rough draught of a proclamation, the King interrupted him at the expression, “*the love of my people*,” and desired him to correct it by inserting the words, “*the love of the French people*.” ‘I can no longer,’ added he, with emotion, and his eyes swelled with tears, ‘I can no longer say *my people*: but they cannot prevent that from being the expression of my heart.’

“This interesting fact can be attested by the Ministers who then composed the Council; and I require all those who have

been in it, either before or since, to declare whether they did not observe, in many instances, that one of the most prevailing sentiments with the King was that of a most tender and affectionate attachment to the French people. It is not yet forgotten, that on the day of his arrival from Varennes, one of the principal officers of his household expressing his regret at the ill-success of that expedition, and particularly at the increase of credit and power which it would give to the Assembly, the King immediately made this remarkable answer: ‘So much the better, a thousand times; so much the better, provided it conduces to the happiness of the people.’

FOURTH FACT.

“At the sitting of the 6th of this month, the reporter Valazé read a note, found in my house, concerning a new order of Knighthood called that of the *Queen*; and in order to give this writing (which justly excited the risibility of the Assembly) more importance, he said it was found in my portfolio. The reporter Valazé is mistaken; and if the Assembly will order the verbal process, which took place at the examination of my papers, to be looked into, it will appear, that this writing was not found in any of my port-folios, but in a different place, which I shall not name. It would have been difficult to have read it, had they not separated it from a letter which was inclosed under the same seal. This letter, dated the beginning of September or October 1790, was nearly in the following terms:

“‘I send you the note which I mentioned the day before yesterday. I must forewarn you, that I had it from one whose fancy is a little exalted; so you may believe what you please of it.’

“The place in which it was found proves that I had formed

the same judgment concerning it with the National Convention.

“The members of the Committee of Surveillance of the Municipality, who spent nine hours in examining these papers, found also a list of an Austrian Committee, composed of about thirty fictitious names. They were eager to seize that writing, which they at first considered as a most important discovery. Fortunately, however, the key to those names was written in the second column of the same page, and contained the names of MM. Sieyès, Condorcet, Brissot, Robespierre, &c., &c. But had this key been written upon a different sheet, and could they have as easily separated it from this list as they did the note concerning the order of *Chevaliers de la Reine*, from the letter above mentioned, they might then have employed the list as a strong proof of the existence of an Austrian Committee.

“Such then are the facts which I thought it incumbent on me to make known to the Assembly. Their accuracy will be established by the proofs which I cite, which can be verified by the witnesses whom I point out. I should have had a much greater number to present, if the catastrophe of the month of September had not driven from France, or destroyed, the persons who could have attested the truth.

(Signed)

“DE BERTRAND.”

CHAPTER XIX.

The Convention resumes the discussions respecting the King's trial.—Several emigrants request to be allowed to appear in his Majesty's defence.—Certain papers on that subject addressed by me to the Minister Garat, requesting him to transmit them to the King.—Means used with success to abate the fury of Danton.—A letter to M. de Malesherbes.—His answer.—The declaration of M. de Bouillé.—Second letter of M. de Malesherbes.—Denunciation of prevarications in the King's trial.—Answer of M. de Malesherbes respecting M. de Bouillé's declaration.

THE eagerness and satisfaction with which all publications, favourable to the King, were read, multiplied these writings daily, and animated the hopes of the royalists so much the more, as the Convention, alarmed and uncertain of the real sentiments of the people, had thought proper to suspend the discussion relating to his Majesty's process, for some days; and it was only taken up, upon a motion made on the 23d of November, by Couthon, one of the wickedest villains of this Assembly.

"The Departments are astonished," said he, "that the Convention has suspended the discussion upon the late King. I know that all traces of royalty vanished when the republic was proclaimed: but foreign nations observe you; your enemies watch you; and the Nation claims the justice which is due to it. I do not desire you to dedicate your whole time to this affair: but I request you will assign two days in every week to it, commencing from Wednesday the 28th of November."

This proposal was decreed.

As soon as we heard this distressing news, some of the most

distinguished orators of the first assembly, namely, Messieurs de Cazales, Malouet, and Lally Tolendal addressed to the Assembly a request to be included in the number of the King's advocates. Although there was not much probability that their request would be granted, Messieurs Malouet and Lally prepared their pleadings. That of M. de Malouet being finished in a few days, and appearing to me very much calculated to produce a good effect in Paris, and throughout the Kingdom, I published it at my own expense, and sent two thousand copies into France; I also addressed them to all the Departments, and to the principal Municipalities. I added an address to the citizens by the Chevalier de Grave, which was also printed.

As these different writings contained a solid refutation of the imputations raised against the King, in the reports of Mailhe and Valazé, I inclosed them within a cover, on which I wrote the following words, "Writings in defence of Louis the Sixteenth." I sent this packet to Garat, Minister of Justice, with a formal requisition that he would deliver it to the King. This same packet contained a copy of the declaration of the Chevalier de Grave, and the copy of another declaration which the Marquis de Bouillé proposed making, relative to the journey to Varennes, and the employment of the money which the King had ordered to be remitted to him upon that occasion.

When the King's process was first deliberated upon in the convention, Danton, the infamous Danton, whose services had been so highly paid by the civil list, was one of those who showed the most violence and inveteracy. This alarmed me greatly, because the popularity which that villain then enjoyed gave him great influence in the Assembly. My ardent desire of saving the King made me consider every measure as justifiable which tended to that end; and I made no scruple

of employing falsehood in order to tame the fury of that monster. On the 11th of December I sent him the following letter :

“ You ought no longer to remain ignorant, sir, that amongst the papers entrusted to my care, about the end of last June, by the late M. de Montmorin, and which I have brought to this country with me, I find a note of different sums, which you received from the funds for secret expenses of the Foreign Department. The occasions on which you received these sums, and the different dates, are specified ; as also the person who negotiated that affair. Your connection with this person is clearly proved by a letter in your own hand, pinned to the note in question, which is entirely in the hand-writing of M. de Montmorin.

“ I have not hitherto made any use of those papers ; but I warn you, that they are joined to a letter I have written to the President of the National Convention ; and which I send by this same courier, inclosed to a confidential friend, with orders to send the letter to the President, and to cause your billet and the note to be printed, and placarded in the corner of every street, if you do not conduct yourself in the King’s affair as a man who has been so well paid ought to do. But if, on the contrary, you exert yourself, to render him the services which you have in your power, be assured they will not pass unrewarded. You need have no uneasiness with regard to this letter, as nobody shall know that I have written to you.

(Signed)

“ BERTRAND.”

The truth of this matter was, that M. de Montmorin had communicated the affair to me, and showed me the papers, but never gave them into my hands, as I had asserted to Dan-

ton,¹ who, knowing the intimacy in which I had been with M. de Montmorin, could not doubt, after what I had written, of my having them in my possession. I received no answer to my letter; but I saw by the public papers, that two days after that in which he must have received it, he caused himself to be deputed to the northern army, and did not return to Paris till the day before sentence was pronounced on the King. He voted for death at the *appel nominal*; but without supporting his opinion, as was his custom, by reasoning, or any discourse whatever.

How much was it to have been wished, that, at this dreadful crisis, some means had also been devised for terrifying or alluring from the capital, Robespierre, Marat, Barrère, Pétion, and all these consummate villains, who, that they might assassinate Louis XVI. with more certainty, got themselves constituted his judges, and associated in their design all the obscure vagabonds of the provinces, by giving them to understand, that this crime was the only means left for them to emerge from want and obscurity, to wealth and power!

The news of M. de Malesherbes being included amongst his Majesty's advocates, and of the honours paid him by the people on this occasion, supported our hopes. I lost no time in transmitting, by a sure hand, to this faithful and virtuous friend of the King, all the papers which had been published in London, in favour of the interesting cause which he had undertaken. He acknowledged the receipt of my packet by the following note:

"M. de Malesherbes received on the 16th of December, from M. Bertrand, two copies of printed letters, and an address from a great many of the French. He likewise received a sealed packet, addressed to M. Tronchet, which probably con-

¹ See note 2, Chapter II.

tains copies of the same papers, and which was sent as directed.

“M. de Malesherbes already knew the contents of these papers. The very morning on which he received them, he carried them to Louis XVI. who is so strictly guarded, that he had never heard of M. Bertrand’s letters, although all Paris knew of them. M. de Malesherbes returned again in the evening to the Temple; the prisoner had, by that time, read the letters, and approved of the contents.”

It evidently appeared by this note, that the packets I had addressed to the Minister Garat had never been delivered to his Majesty; and as they contained papers which might be useful in his defence, I wrote to M. de Malesherbes to desire he would claim them at the Ministry of Justice; and foreseeing that these packets might possibly be lost or concealed, I again wrote to M. de Malesherbes, four days after, inclosing a copy of M. de Bouillé’s declaration, it being the paper of greatest consequence that I had sent to the King. The contents were as follows:

“François Claude Amour de Bouillé, formerly General of the army on the Meuse and Moselle, denominated the Central Army, at present in the town of London, deposes upon oath, That in the beginning of May 1790, commanding then in the province of *Trois Evêchés*, he sent his resignation to the Minister of War, with a design of quitting the service and the Kingdom: that he had hitherto refused to take the oath which the National Assembly exacted from all the general officers; but the King wrote to him with his own hand, desiring that he would continue in the service, and acknowledge the new Constitution, and take the oath to it, as required by the National Assembly, which his Majesty declares will be the most effectual means of enabling the said Bouillé to promote the happiness of the people, and to serve his Majesty; which let-

ter from the King, is at present with many other papers belonging to M. de Bouillé in Holland, where he left them on coming from thence to England.

“He also deposes, That he answered the King’s letter, assuring him that he would obey his Majesty’s order, and take the oath as he desired; but that, in so doing, he made him the greatest sacrifice which could be made by man.

“The said M. de Bouillé further declares, That, as soon as he was assured of the King’s being arrested at Varennes, he left the Kingdom; that he had, at that time, in his hands six hundred thousand livres, being what remained of the sum of nine hundred and ninety-three thousand livres, which had been deposited in his hands, by order of the King, for the expense of the intended journey of the royal family to Montmédy: that being now deprived of the means of any communication with his Majesty, he thought it his duty to remit the six hundred thousand livres to Monsieur. But he was afterwards informed by a letter which M. de Choiseul wrote to him by the King’s desire, that his Majesty was displeased at his having disposed of the money to the Princes, as he wished, on the contrary, to have the whole sum returned to himself. This letter from M. de Choiseul is with M. de Bouillé’s other papers in Holland.

“M. de Bouillé further declares, That it was not the King who caused the sum of a hundred thousand livres to be given to M. Hamilton, formerly Colonel of the Regiment of Nassau; but that it was M. de Bouillé himself who placed the said sum into Mr. Hamilton’s hands, in trust, at the time of the King’s evasion from Paris; and this made part of the original sum, as appears by the receipt.

“M. de Bouillé moreover adds, That he intends, in a few days, to return to Holland, where he shall be ready, if required, to give up the papers here enumerated.

“Sworn at the house of the Mayor of London, on the 27th of December 1792.

“Signed in my presence,

“JAMES SANDERSON, Mayor.”

My conjectures respecting the packet addressed to Garat, the Minister, were well founded, as appears from a letter I received from M. de Malesherbes in the beginning of January, which is too remarkable to be suppressed.

“I enclose the explanations you require in your last letter to me. You will perceive that I speak of you in the third person; because, not knowing in what part of London you lived, I commissioned one of our countrymen, at present there, to give you the explanations of which I now send you a copy.

“I was afraid that my letter, which was sent to the post this morning, would be intercepted, I therefore send you a duplicate, as I have been just informed of a person who is setting off for Calais, who will deliver it safely into your hand.

“You know, sir, that I am now more than ever, with sincere attachment,

“Your obedient, &c.,

“MALESHERBES.”

The duplicate in question was as follows:

“The Minister of Justice received a packet from M. Bertrand, to be delivered to Louis XVI., containing papers for his justification. The Minister, not having any communication with the prisoner, sent the packet to the National Convention.

“The same Minister has since received another letter from M. Bertrand, inclosing a packet addressed to me; upon which was wrote, ‘Papers in justification of Louis XVI.’ From this superscription, the Minister thought it indispensable to send

this packet also to the National Convention. I received this account from the Minister himself, when I went to claim the packet.

“As I knew that it had been laid before a Committee by the Convention, I went to the Committee myself; and, in the name of him whose cause I am to defend, I claimed the packet which was addressed to him; and, in my own name, I claimed that which was intended for me. I saw that both these packets had been opened. They contained printed papers; and in one of the packets (not that which belonged to me), there were certain papers whose contents I was not permitted to read, although I was told they were authenticated by public officers.

“The Committee did not hesitate to give me the printed papers, copies of which I had already; but they refused to give me the manuscripts, until they were authorised by an order from the National Convention.

“One of the Committee went to the Convention to demand this order. He returned, and told me, ‘that upon his demand, they passed to the order of the day;’ but he did not bring back the papers, saying, ‘that he had left them on the bureau.’ The Committee, as far as I observed, made no memorandum of those papers having been carried away, and not brought back.

“I asked these gentlemen by what means I could obtain the possession of these papers? They looked at each other, but gave no answer.

“There the matter rests. I thought it best not to insist upon this subject, while the convention is deliberating on the trial of Louis.”

The conduct of Garat was so base and criminal, that I thought it a proper occasion of awakening and exciting the

public indignation against the innumerable prevarications which were committed in the course of the King's process. I flattered myself, that it was still possible to rouse the Parisians from that shameful state of stupor and dismay into which the audacious tyranny of the convention had thrown them. In this hope, I addressed the following denunciation to the Assembly. I, at the same time, sent several thousand copies of it to France, and made it as public as possible

DENUNCIATION of prevarications committed in the trial of Louis XVI. addressed to the National Convention by M. Bertrand de Moleville, Minister of State in France.

"Monsieur le President,

"I denounce to the National Convention, to the People of France, and to all Europe, the odious prevarications which have taken place in the trial of Louis XVI.; of which I shall here point out the proofs, in order to have justice administered against the guilty.

"In the course of last month, I sent papers for the defence of Louis XVI. to the Minister of Justice, with a formal requisition to have them delivered to the King. I thought that the surest means of having them conveyed to their sacred destination was to address them to the Minister of Justice. I accordingly wrote the following letter to him:

"Sir,

"As it is one of the most sacred duties of a Minister of Justice to protect those who are under accusation, and to secure to them every means of clearing their innocence, I address these papers to you, solemnly requesting that they may be delivered into the hands of Louis XVI. As the King's former Minister, I feel myself not only authorised, but obliged in duty, to point out those circumstances, during my admin-

istration, that tend to overset the principal articles of the accusation brought against him. Such is the object of my demand; and you must be sensible, sir, that you cannot reject it without showing yourself the accomplice of one of the most atrocious crimes of which there is any example.'

"A few days afterwards, I sent under cover to the same Minister, a packet for M. de Malesherbes, intitled, 'Papers for the justification of Louis XVI.' I wrote, at the same time, to advertise M. de Malesherbes of my sending them as above mentioned to the Minister of Justice, and requiring that he should ask them from that Minister.

"I am this day informed, that when, in consequence of that letter, M. de Malesherbes went himself to claim these packets, he was answered by the Minister of Justice, 'that, on finding they contained papers for the justification of Louis XVI., he had thought himself obliged to send them to the National Convention.'

"I must observe here, that the conduct of the Minister of Justice, upon this occasion, is of a piece with the barbarous practice of the keepers and jailors of prisons, under the ancient government, in sending all letters or papers, addressed to the prisoner, to the magistrate superintending the prisons. There was then, however, one sure means of having letters, &c., remitted to the prisoner, namely, by addressing them directly to that magistrate. Nevertheless, the Constituent Assembly justly indignant at the slowness of this means, and the inhumanity of these precautions, formally abolished this custom by the new criminal code. It decreed, that the prisoners should not only receive all papers and memorials which might assist in their defence, but that a copy of their indictment, and of the procedure, should be given them in twenty-four hours after it was demanded, either by themselves, or their counsel. But when I solemnly address myself to the Minister, specially

appointed to maintain the execution of this law, he does not scruple to infringe it, under pretence that he has no communication with the prisoner.

“If such a pretext is admitted, every law made for the protection of the accused may be equally violated by his judges themselves, as there is not one of them who has any communication with the prisoner.

“The conduct of the Minister of Justice is still more unjustifiable with regard to M. de Malesherbes. Could he possibly imagine it was his duty to deprive the defender of Louis XVI. of papers sent for his client’s justification? So that the superscription which I wrote upon the packet, as a security for its being delivered, was exactly what determined the Minister of Justice not only to keep it up from M. de Malesherbes, but to send it to the very Committee which conducted the process against the King.

“Could we suppose a legal court of assassins, what conduct could more naturally be expected from the principal agent of such a court, than to deliver the papers transmitted to him, for the defence of the accused, into the hands of the accusers?

“I submit the above considerations to the justice of the National Convention, and shall proceed in my statement of facts.

“M. de Malesherbes went to the Committee, and claimed the packets. He found that both had been opened; they contained printed and written papers: the printed papers were delivered to him; but he was informed that he could not have the others without an order from the Convention. A member of the Committee went with the papers to the Convention to demand this order. He returned and told M. de Malesherbes, that, upon his demand, the Assembly had passed to the order

of the day. The member did not bring back the papers; he left them on the bureau.

“M. de Malesherbes asked what means he could take to obtain these papers? the members of the Committee looked at each other, but nobody answered him.

“The striking injustice of refusing to allow M. de Malesherbes so much as to read those papers, must be imputed to the ignorance or guilt of some inferior agent of the Committee; for certainly none of its members would have been accessory to such illegal conduct.

“I am equally convinced that the Assembly would not have passed to the order of the day, on the demand of M. de Malesherbes, had the nature of the request been clearly represented. The fact however is, that those entrusted with the King's defence, were obliged to make it without the assistance of these papers. Unfortunately, they were not the only papers which were kept up; for it is known, that when the papers in the King's cabinet were seized and carried away, none of the formalities which the law exacts, and the particular care loudly called for, were used to prevent subtraction, alteration, or substitution; of course, none of those papers can, with the least colour of law or justice, be produced against the King; yet they are produced, and urged against him, as if all those formalities had been observed; and, besides, a collection, falsely called complete, of the papers found in his Majesty's cabinet, was, by orders of the Committee, printed, and profusely distributed over the Kingdom; but this collection, so far from being complete, consisted only of such papers as admitted of malignant interpretations, which were, with much assiduity, given to them, enforced and illustrated by calumnious notes. It is to be hoped, that the authors of these notes are not of the number of the King's judges, any more than those depu-

ties who have betrayed such a thirst for the King's blood, that they have anticipated their votes for his death, by printing and publishing their opinions. According to the laws of all civilised countries, a judge who condemns a person accused, without having heard his defence, thereby loses the right of finally judging him, and is considered as on the same footing with the accuser. Were it possible to suppose that this law could be violated in the case of Louis XVI. the French nation, fired with indignation against such flagrant injustice, would, undoubtedly, rise like one man, and pour vengeance on the base infringers of a principle so self-evident and sacred. Trusting to the justice of the National Convention, I demand that the papers, for the justification of Louis XVI., which I sent under cover to the Minister of Justice, may be remitted to the King's defenders; and as to the papers found in the King's cabinet, but which the authors of the printed collection thought it expedient to suppress, I can, from my own certain knowledge, only point out the following:

“1st, A copy of a letter to the King from three deputies of the Legislative Assembly, of great influence (Vergniaud, Guadet and Gensonné), dated in the month of July last. This letter contained a prediction of the 10th of August; and the recall of Servan, Clavière, and Roland was proposed as the only means of preventing that catastrophe. As I saw the King in public only, after my retreat from the Ministry, I had not an opportunity of reading the letter myself, but I was informed of its contents by persons who have read it. I shall name these persons, and likewise the deputies, as soon as the proofs shall be taken into consideration, and the witnesses in favour of the King are to be heard, according to the indispensable form in all criminal causes.’

“The letter of those three deputies may, at least, serve to prove, that the torrents of blood shed on the 10th of August

ought not to be attributed to Louis XVI., but to the faction who wished to dethrone him, in order that Servan, Clavière, and Roland might be recalled to administration. Thierry,² the King's first *valet de chambre*, who received the letter from them, and delivered it to the King, was afterwards assassinated, although he was absent from the palace on the 10th of August.

“ ‘2d, A copy of a plan, consisting of twenty-one articles, secretly agreed on at Mantua, in the month of May 1791, by the Emperor Leopold; the object of which was the re-establishment of the King's ancient and legal authority. For this end, the Emperor proposed to enter France, with his army, in the beginning of the month of July following, a period in which neither our armies nor frontiers were in a state of defence.’

“ The King alone could have prevented the execution of this plan, and he did prevent it. All exacted from him was his consent, which was to be kept secret. He refused this, without consulting anybody; he needed no advice when the tranquillity of his people was at stake; and he saw that this plan could not be executed without bloodshed.

“ The two only Ministers who had knowledge of these facts, and of an infinity of others equally important for the King's justification, were Messieurs de Montmorin and de Lessart, who unfortunately have both perished. It is difficult to attribute to chance, either the selection of the victims sacrificed on the 2d of September, or that of the King's papers which have been suppressed. However that may be, if Leopold's plan is not found, I shall, as soon as the King's process is commenced, name three persons who had a complete knowledge of all the particulars of that plan, and can ascertain the con-

² Pierre Louis René Thierry was not assassinated, as Bertrand here states. He was tried by the Revolutionary Tribunal, on the charge of harbouring an *émigré* (a charge of almost daily occurrence), and guillotined on the 5th July 1794.

tents in as satisfactory a manner as if the original plan itself were laid before the Convention.

“‘3d, A journal written by the King himself, for his own private use, containing everything of consequence he has done since he ascended the throne; his projects, views, and even the faults he has to reproach himself with, are there inserted. This journal, which may be considered as a faithful picture of Louis XVI., drawn by himself, and for himself only, would be a most interesting part of the intended process. Even in the faults with which he reproaches himself, his virtues, and uniform attachment to his people, would evidently appear.’

“That this journal was amongst the King’s papers, is proved by a letter which M. de Malesherbes has just received from M. de Liancourt.

“These, sir, are the facts on which I call for the animadversion of the National Convention, and the attention of all Europe; and for this purpose I have thought it my duty to render this application as public as possible, by confiding it in the hands of the Lord Mayor of London, and directing it to be published in the newspapers. And I now solemnly call on you, sir, as President, to communicate it to the Convention, otherwise you become personally answerable for the consequences of those important facts remaining unknown to them.

(Signed)

“DE BERTRAND.

“LONDON, *January 8, 1793.*”

M. de Malesherbes acknowledged the receipt of M. de Bouillé’s new declaration in his letter of the 6th of January; he wrote to me upon that subject as follows:

“With respect to M. de Bouillé’s declaration, which is the subject of your letter of the 28th of December, we shall not have time to make use of it before the Convention has passed sentence, because our memorial is drawn up and printed. Be-

sides the article concerning the employment of the funds, entrusted to M. de Bouillé, is explained in a perfectly satisfactory manner in the memorial. But if the process is submitted to the Primary Assemblies, as it is to be hoped, and if we are of course permitted once more to plead, we shall, in that case, demand the papers of justification which M. de Bouillé left in Holland."

CHAPTER XX.

Means used by the faction of Robespierre to force the majority of the Convention to vote for the king's death.—Reflections on the character and fate of Louis XVI.—Circumstances concerning his death and execution, as related by his confessor.—The King's interrogatory and last will.

THE chief accusations against Louis were so evidently false and absurd, and his innocence, candour, and the purity of his intentions plead so forcibly in his favour, that the majority of the Assembly would never have come to the resolution of condemning him, had not the most atrocious men of the faction employed violent threats to bring their colleagues into their measures; and it appears that many, who were at first inclined to save the unfortunate Prince, from fear and weakness voted for his death.

The mild goodness of this Prince, even his tenderness of his subjects, were the circumstances which led him to his unhappy fate, or at least prevented his avoiding it.

If the murder of Louis XVI., and all the wickedness which has been the consequence, could be justly considered as the crimes of the nation, whole ages would elapse before men of virtue and humanity would cease to blush at the thought of having France for their native country. Devoted to ignominy, that wretched land would be inhabited only by banditti, assassins, bravos, smugglers, the refuse and rejected offal of other countries: but, thank Heaven these horrible crimes, although committed in the name of the French Nation, were never authorised by it. The Primary Assemblies of 1792, in which the nobility, and the men of property of all the classes,

durst not appear, for fear of assassination, or, at least, of gross insult, certainly were not the nation. The Deputies elected by those Assemblies, or rather those bands of Jacobins, were not instructed, even by the most atrocious of their constituents, to destroy the Monarchy, nor invested with the right of becoming at once accusers and judges, and, in those characters, the assassins of the King. To these regicides alone, therefore, to that band of infernal monsters, is the King's murder, that of the royal family, and all the subsequent guilt, to be imputed. My pen refuses to trace the circumstances of the condemnation and death of those illustrious victims. It is a sufficient mortification to have their assassins for fellow-citizens; I may be allowed to shrink from being their historian.

I confine myself to the relation of some particulars, little known, concerning the last moments of Louis XVI., as they were communicated to me by his worthy confessor, the Abbé Edgeworth.¹ At that dreadful period this excellent person

¹ Henry Essex Edgeworth was the son of the Rev. Robert Edgeworth, an Irish clergyman, who after adopting Roman Catholicism, lived at Toulouse. The Abbé was educated by the Jesuits at Toulouse and afterwards in Paris, where he was ordained. Here he lived for some years, ministering chiefly to English and Irish residents.

In 1791 he became confessor to Madame Elizabeth, whom he frequently visited, being the only priest who at that period ventured to enter the Tuileries in clerical dress. The greater part of the day preceding the 10th of August he spent in Madame Elizabeth's apartments.

Louis XVI. was personally unacquainted with Edgeworth, and it was on the recommendation of Madame Elizabeth, that he sent for him on the eve of his execution. Edgeworth's escape from the scaffold was due mainly to the fact that he was in a layman's costume, which had been adopted by all the Clergy since the September Massacres.

After the death of the King, Edgeworth contrived, by one choice or another, to keep himself in correspondence with Madame Elizabeth, and it was not until after her death, that he escaped from Paris, and in 1796 reached England. His mother, with whom he lived in Paris, had in the meanwhile been captured and died in prison. He became afterwards chaplain to Louis XVIII., first at Blankenberg, and con-

exhibited the most courageous proofs of his zeal for religion, and fidelity to his Sovereign.

When M. de Malesherbes first visited the King at the Temple, as one of his Counsel, his Majesty, who considered his condemnation as certain, expressed the most anxious desire to see a priest, and mentioned the Abbé Edgeworth, grand vicar of the diocese of Paris, and confessor to the Princess Elizabeth, as the one he would prefer; desiring M. de Malesherbes to take every step towards obtaining for that gentleman free access to him, without any danger of being insulted: but requesting, at the same time, that the Abbé might be informed, that his Majesty would not press this upon him, if he dreaded any personal risk on that account; in which case he was requested to point out some other proper person for that office, the King being willing to rely entirely on the Abbé's recommendation.

M. de Malesherbes having executed his Majesty's commission, found M. Edgeworth cordially disposed to the duty required of him. It was not till the 20th of January 1793, at four of the afternoon, that he was sent for to the Tuileries by the Executive Council, who assembled there. When admitted into the room where the Ministers were convened, he was greatly struck with the terror and consternation which appeared in their countenances.

"Louis Capet desires to see you," said the Minister of Justice (Garat). "Will you go to him to the Temple?"

He continued in this capacity when Louis was expelled from Prussia. He died on the 22nd May 1807, of a fever contracted in attending on the French prisoners in that town.

There is room for doubt as to whether the Abbé Edgeworth uttered the words, "Son of Saint Louis, ascend to heaven." He himself, as is stated here, was uncertain. Jean de Lacretelle alludes to the words as having been invented by himself, but again, he is not sufficiently explicit on the subject to allow of any definite conclusion.

"Unquestionably I will," replied the Abbé. "The King's request is an order, in my eyes."

"Follow me, then; I will conduct you to him," resumed the same Minister, who was going to notify to his Majesty the decree of the Convention, in consequence of the King's requests to them, and to announce that the following morning, at ten o'clock, was fixed for his execution. The Minister of Justice took the Abbé into the carriage with him; and on the way from the Tuileries to the Temple he several times repeated, with the accent of despair, "What a dreadful commission!"

M. Edgeworth being summoned to fulfil one of the most solemn and sacred duties of his Ministry, was desirous of observing the forms which the church prescribes, and urged the propriety of attending his Majesty in priest's vestments.

"That is impossible," replied the Minister of Justice.

When they arrived at the Temple, they found the tower surrounded by a considerable number of National Guard, by one of whom they were introduced into a hall where twelve or fifteen members of the Municipality of Paris were sitting, and at that time formed the Court called Council of the Commune of Paris sitting at the Temple. Six or seven of them accompanied the Minister to the King's chamber, and the others retained the Abbé with them, although the Minister expressed a desire of presenting him to the King.

This council was certainly composed of the most unfeeling and brutal men in the Municipality. They behaved to M. Edgeworth, not only without compassion, but they even showed a ferocious joy. They rudely searched all his pockets, opened his snuff-box to see whether it did not contain poison, examined his pencil-case, on the pretext that it might conceal a stiletto. They then made him ascend to the King's apartment by a little narrow stair, where sentinels were placed at

small intervals, some of them drunk, swearing, and singing, as if it had been an ale-house.

The Minister of Justice was still in the King's apartment with those members of the Council who had accompanied him to his Majesty; the serene dignity of whose countenance formed a striking contrast with the haggard and villainous looks of the wretches who surrounded him. As soon as the King perceived the Abbé Edgeworth, he made a movement, expressive of his desire to be left alone with him. The others immediately withdrew. The King shut the door, and turned towards the Abbé, who sunk on his knees, kissed his Majesty's hand, and bathed it with his tears. The King, equally affected, raised M. Edgeworth, saying,

"None but the most unrelenting of men have been allowed to approach me of late. My eyes are accustomed to them: but the sight of a man of humanity, a faithful subject, affects my whole soul, and melts me as you see."

Being in some measure recovered, he led the Abbé into his closet, and having made him sit down, he read his last will twice over to him, with a firm tone and proper emphasis; his voice failing only at those parts where mention is made of the Queen, his children, and the Princess Elizabeth.

"What is become of the good Cardinal de La Rochefoucault,"² said the King, after a short pause, "and the Archbishop of Paris, de Juigné. Have you any news of him? I fear he is displeased with me. He wrote to me while I was at the Tuileries. I did not answer his letter, I was so surrounded. He will forgive me. Assure him that I die in

² Cardinal Dominique de La Rochefoucault, Archbishop of Rouen, was a member of the States-General of 1789. He was one of the last of the Clergy to consent to joining the Third Order. With all the prelates of France, except four, he refused to take the oath of the new Constitution of the Clergy, and was deprived of his See. He remained in France until the 10th August, when he escaped to Germany. He died, at the age of 78, at Münster, in September 1800.

his communion; and that in spite of all the changes they have made, I always considered myself as one of his flock."

It is difficult to do justice to the devout, sublime, and heroic sentiments expressed by the King in this interesting conference, particularly when he spoke of his own situation and that of his family; but, above all, when he dwelt on the misfortunes of his country.

"This people, by nature good," said he, "but now misguided and enslaved by a few unprincipled leaders, would never have suffered me to be accused of tyranny, if they had known how much their happiness has always been dear to me, and how sincerely I have wished to promote it. In proportion as I have been deprived of the means and hope of attaining an object which I had so much at heart, life has become more and more disgusting to me; and I now make the sacrifice without regret. I am certain that the time will come when the French People will lament my loss. Yes, I am confident that they will do justice to my memory when they shall know the truth, when they have the liberty of being just: but alas! till then, they are, and will be, very unhappy!"

This reflection on the misfortunes of his country again drew tears from the eyes of the generous monarch.

Speaking of the Duke of Orleans, he said,

"I do not know what I have done to my cousin, to make him behave to me in the manner he has done: but he is to be pitied. He is still more unfortunate than I am. I certainly would not change conditions with him."

After this, he rose, saying,

"I must now go and see my family for the last time. This will be the severest trial of all. When that is over, I shall fix my mind solely on what concerns my salvation."

Leaving the Abbé Edgeworth in his closet, the unhappy Prince went to the room where his family were already as-

sembled, and which was separated only by a door from that in which were two Commissaries constantly on duty: this door was formed of panes of glass from top to bottom, like a window; so that those two men could see and hear all that passed.

In such horrible circumstances, and in this dismal room, did the King of France meet his deploring family, now rendered more dear to him than ever by his own approaching fate, and their unexampled misfortunes. Here passed a scene of woe far beyond the power of description, to which the mind of sensibility alone can do justice.

The sympathising heart of M. Edgeworth was pierced with the groans of anguish and the screams of despair.

This agonizing interview lasted more than an hour. The King returned to his own room in a state of emotion that cannot be expressed.

“Why,” said he, addressing the Abbé, after he had somewhat recovered himself, “why do I love with so much tenderness, and wherefore am I so tenderly beloved? But now the painful sacrifice is over. Let me now turn my thoughts to the care of my salvation alone.”

Having thus expressed himself, he remained for some minutes in silent meditation, interrupted by sighs, accompanied with tears, and then began to converse on the great truths of religion; and astonished his confessor as much by the extensive knowledge he displayed on that subject, as he had before edified him by his piety.

At ten o'clock, Clery, his faithful *valet de chambre*, came and proposed that he should take some supper. The King consented, less from any inclination to eat, than to oblige Clery, who made the request with tears in his eyes. After eating a mouthful, as he rose from the table he said to M. Edgeworth,

"You ought also to take some nourishment; you are surely much exhausted."

This slight repast being over, the Abbé asked the King whether he would not like to hear mass, and to receive the communion. The King replied, that he desired it with ardour: but he showed, at the same time, that he had little hopes of that favour being granted him.

"I must have permission," said he, "from this Council in the Temple, who have hitherto granted me nothing but what was impossible to be withheld."

M. Edgeworth went directly and signified the King's request to the Council sitting in the Temple. He met with many difficulties.

"There are examples in history," said a member of this hardened Court, "of priests who have mixed poison with the host."

"I have been sufficiently searched to satisfy you," replied the Abbé, "that I have no poison about me: but to render yourselves still more certain, you have only to furnish me with the wafers; and if they should prove poisoned, the blame will not be imputable to me."

To this the Council made no immediate answer: but the members went into the room where they usually held their meetings. The King's demand was formally deliberated on; after which, the Abbé being called in, the President said,

"Citizen minister of worship, that which Louis Capet requests, not being contrary to law, we have agreed to grant it on two conditions: first, that you sign the request; and in the second place, that the ceremony you intend to perform shall terminate before seven o'clock to-morrow morning; because, at eight o'clock, Louis Capet must go hence to the place of execution."

The Abbé Edgeworth submitted to those conditions, and directly went and informed the King, who expressed the highest satisfaction at the hope of once more having the consolation of hearing mass, and of receiving the communion. He fell on his knees to return thanks to the Almighty, and immediately after began his confession. When it was ended, M. Edgeworth, seeing the King almost exhausted with the anguish and fatigue he had undergone, advised him to go to bed, and endeavour to get a little repose. His Majesty consented, and prevailed on the Abbé to lay down in Clery's bed, which was in the same room.

Having slept with tranquillity, the King called for Clery, early the next morning, to assist him in dressing. He heard mass and received the communion with the most profound devotion. After having finished his prayers, he said to M. Edgeworth,

"How happy am I in having retained my faith in religion! In what a state of mind should I at this moment have been, had not the grace of God preserved to me that blessing. Yes, I shall be enabled to show them that I do not fear death."

A noise being heard at the door, M. Edgeworth was agitated. He thought the fatal moment was already arrived. The King, without betraying the least emotion, maintained his usual serenity. It was the guards who resumed their posts. His Majesty having addressed himself to one of them, the wretch had the brutality to answer,

"That would have been very well, formerly, citizen, but you are no longer a king."

"You see how I am treated," said his Majesty, addressing M. Edgeworth, "but nothing can shock me now.—Here they come," resumed the King, calmly, on hearing some persons ascending the stair.

It was the Commissaries of the Municipality with an expriest at their head, called Jacques Roux.³ They came to announce that the hour was at hand.

"It is enough," said the King. "I will join you directly: but I wish to pass a few moments alone with my confessor."

They retired. His Majesty shut the door, and said, falling on his knees,

"All is consummated. Give me your last benediction."

Fear of the danger to which the Abbé Edgeworth might be exposed, in accompanying the King to the place of execution, had prevented his Majesty from making such a proposition, and he supposed that they were now to separate: but when he found that it was the fixed resolution of this venerable man, worthy of the sacred functions he exercised, to abide by him to the last, his Majesty was at once moved by tenderness and filled with satisfaction.

Having thrown open the door,

"*Marchons*" (Let us march), said he, with a firm tone of voice, to Santerre, who waited without.

Here the King offered to Roux, the priest, a packet, containing his will, desiring that he might deliver it to the Commune. The wretch refused to take it, saying, that it was his

³ Jacques Roux had been a Curate at one of the Parish Churches of Paris, and had given himself the title of Preacher in Ordinary to the Sans-Culottes.

In 1792 he was elected a member of the Paris Municipality and was one of the Commissioners of that body deputed to attend the King to the scaffold. His words when asked to transmit Louis' will to the Municipality are usually given thus: "I am here to take you to the guillotine, not to do your commissions." On the 9th September 1793, he was expelled from the Municipality and sent for trial by the Criminal Court of the Department of the Seine, for various acts of dishonesty.

The Court refused to try him and ordered him to be sent before the Revolutionary Tribunal. On hearing of his fate, Roux stabbed himself with a knife, dying immediately, in the Bicêtre prison, 15th January 1794.

duty to conduct him to the scaffold, but nothing else. One of his companions, however, less hardened than this Roux, took the packet, and remitted it carefully to the Commune.

Before they came to the stair of the Temple, the King perceiving that the Commissaries were covered, desired Clery to bring his hat, which he immediately put on his head; and being escorted by a very numerous detachment of National Guard, he walked through the first court of the Temple, and found the carriage provided for him in the second. Two very ill-looking fellows belonging to the police stood at the door. One of them immediately entered the carriage; the King followed with the Abbé Edgeworth. The other policeman placed himself by his comrade.

From the disturbed, fierce, and menacing countenances of those two men, M. Edgeworth suspected that they had orders to assassinate the King in the coach, in case of the appearance of any powerful attempt to rescue him. The public papers of the following day asserted that this suspicion was but too well founded.

A profound silence reigned among the people all the way from the Temple to the *Place Louis XV.* The whole streets were lined with National Guard under arms. Nothing was heard but the sound of drums.

As the movement of the carriage was very slow, the King asked for a prayer-book from the Abbé. He had none but his Breviary, which he gave him, pointing out the psalms most analogous to his situation. His Majesty continued reading, with the utmost devotion, till the carriage stopped near the scaffold. The executioners having opened the door of the carriage, the King laying his hand on the knee of the Abbé, said to the two policemen,

“Gentlemen, I recommend M. Edgeworth to your protection.”

As they made no immediate answer, he added, with greater earnestness,

"I conjure you to take care that no harm befall him after my death."

"Well, well, give yourself no farther trouble; we shall take care of him," answered one of them, in a harsh and ironical tone of voice.

The King, having thrown off his coat, was going to ascend the scaffold, when they seized his hands, on purpose to tie them behind his back. As he was not prepared for this last insult, his first movement was to repel it with indignation: but M. Edgeworth, sensible that all resistance would be vain, and would expose the King to outrages still more violent, said,

"Sire, this new humiliation is another circumstance in which your Majesty's sufferings resemble those of that Saviour, who will soon be your recompense."

This observation instantly removed all his repugnance. With a dignified air of resignation he presented his hands to the wretches, who, tying the cords with all their force, the King addressing them mildly, said, "There is no need to pull so tight."

It was while he was mounting the scaffold, supported by the Abbé Edgeworth, that this servant of God, as if by inspiration, addressed the King with the sublime expression, "Son of St. Louis, ascend to Heaven!"

The modesty and scrupulous exactness of the Abbé Edgeworth are such, that the general admiration excited by this solemn apostrophe led him to examine his memory, whether he had really pronounced those very words; and he told me himself, that his grief and agitation, at this dreadful moment, had totally effaced from his mind the greater part of what he had said to the King; and that he recollected nothing

further, concerning this particular sentence, than what he had received from others. But as the circumstance, spread over the whole capital the very day of the King's death, and inserted in all the public papers, has never been contradicted, I thought myself authorised to regard it as indisputably true, notwithstanding the delicacy of the Abbé Edgeworth; which, without invalidating the truth of this fact, proves the confidence that is due to whatever he asserts.

As soon as he came upon the scaffold, advancing, with a firm step, to the part which faced the Palace, he desired the drums to cease, and was immediately obeyed, in spite of the orders they had received. He then pronounced, with a voice loud enough to be heard at the gardens of the Tuileries,

"I die innocent of all the crimes which have been imputed to me. I forgive my enemies. I implore God, from the bottom of my heart, to pardon them, and not to take vengeance on the French nation for the blood about to be shed —"

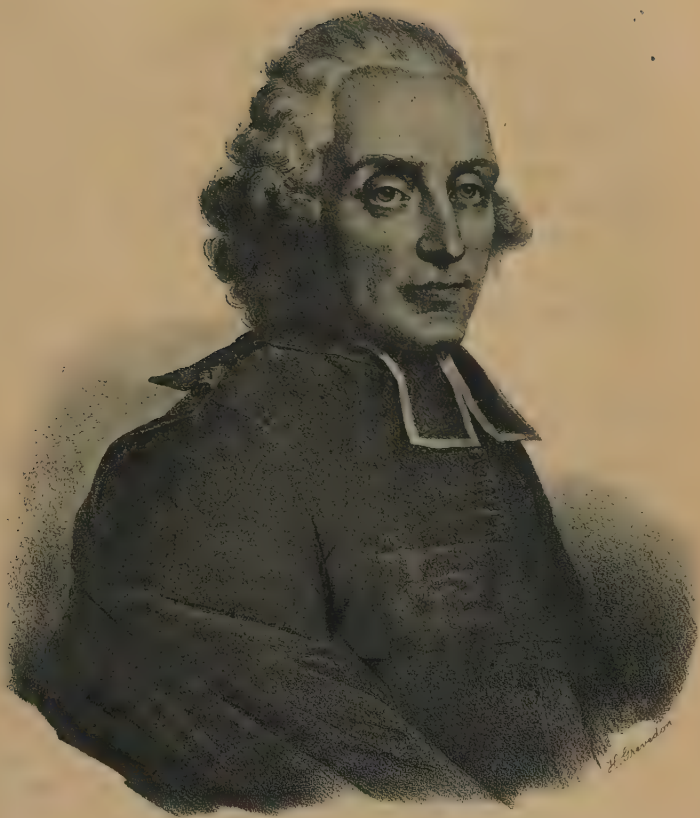
He was continuing, when that most atrocious of villains, Santerre,⁴ pushed furiously towards the drummers, and forced

⁴ Antoine Joseph Santerre, a brewer in the Faubourg Saint Antoine, Paris, was a man of some influence from his wealth and from the large number of workmen whom he employed. He was a violent and flamboyant Revolutionist, and was the leader of the mob who invaded the Tuileries on the 20th June 1792. On the 10th August he was appointed by the Insurrectionary Municipality Commandant of the National Guard. In this capacity he conducted Louis XVI. to the Temple and afterwards to the scaffold.

In 1793 he was promoted to the rank of General of Divisions and given a command against the Vendeeans. Here he showed neither courage nor ability and was recalled and imprisoned. He escaped death, however, and was released after the 10th Thermidor, when he resigned his rank of General and returned to the wreck of his business which had undergone a complete ruin during his absence.

Napoleon, at his request, bestowed upon him the pension of a retired General, on which he lived until his death in February 1809.

The story told here of the young man who seized the King's head immediately after it fell is not imaginary. With some variations this and other narratives of still more abominable conduct on the part



The Abbé Edgeworth

them to beat without interruption. The executioners, at the same time, laid hold of their victim, and the horrid deed was completed.

There is reason to believe that Santerre, and the Council who had their sittings at the Temple, had been at pains to select for the execution of this crime, some who had already given proofs of their patriotism by murder. The shocking ferocity of a young man of eighteen or twenty years of age, who assisted on this dreadful occasion, cannot be otherwise accounted for. As soon as the King's head was severed from the body, this young cannibal, seizing it by the hair, danced around the scaffold, holding it up to the people, and exclaiming repeatedly, *Vive la nation!*

The Abbé Edgeworth, who was on his knees on the scaffold during the execution, and was still in the same posture, would have been covered with blood, had he not, by an involuntary movement which he has since regretted, shrunk back when this monster approached him, brandishing the head of the King in his hand. The repeated cries of *Vive la nation!* and this horrible spectacle, roused him from the stupor into which he had sunk. He rose with precipitation, descended from the scaffold, pierced, without difficulty, through the National Guard that surrounded it, who opened, at the simple movement of his hand, to let him pass. He mixed with the multitude, and went directly to M. de Malesherbes.

The King had charged him with several commissions to that gentleman, particularly that he should be informed into whose hands the duplicate of the will had been placed, in case that which his Majesty had delivered to the Commissaries of the

of the spectators are told by several contemporaries who were present, or were immediately informed of them. Some of the worst of these stories are to be found in Mercier's "Nouveau Paris" and Prudhomme's "Revolution de Paris." Prudhomme is not a specially trustworthy witness, but Mercier is as a rule both reliable and accurate.

Commune should not be published. At sight of this courageous attendant on the King, the faithful witness of his sufferings, in whose breast the last thoughts of the royal martyr had been deposited, the venerable old man burst into tears, and having embraced him, exclaimed,

“All, then, is over, my dear Abbé? — Receive my thanks, and those of all worthy Frenchmen, for the unshaken fidelity and zeal you have manifested for our good master.”

The Abbé communicated to him all that the King had given him in charge, and then made a recital of what had passed at the Temple, and at the Place Louis XV.

He had scarce finished, when M. de Malesherbes, transported with grief and indignation, poured forth a torrent of invective against the Revolution, and the authors of the King's death, with astounding vehemence, and in a sublime strain of eloquence.

“You might have thought,” said the Abbé Edgeworth, when he narrated this to me, “that you were hearing Mr. Burke himself.”

“The villains have actually put him to death, then!” cried he. “And it was in the name of the Nation that they perpetrated this parricide! In the name of the French, who, had they been worthy of so good a King, would have acknowledged him as the best they ever had. Yes, the very best; for he was as pious as Louis IX., as just as Louis XII., as humane as Henry IV., and exempt from their failings. His only fault was that of loving us too well; conducting himself too much as our father, and not enough as our King; and continually endeavouring to procure us more happiness than we were capable of enjoying. But *his* faults proceeded, in some degree, from his virtues; whereas ours flow entirely from our vices. It is this false philosophy (of which I must confess that I myself have been the dupe) which has hurried us into

an abyss of destruction. It is that which has, by an inconceivable magic, fascinated the eyes of the nation, and made us sacrifice the substance for a phantom. For the mere phrase Political Liberty, France has sacrificed social liberty, which she possessed, in all respects, in a greater degree than any other nation, because she had multiplied and embellished the sources of enjoyment beyond any other nation. The People, conscious of their being completely invested with the liberty of doing everything which the law permits, conceived that political liberty must imply the right of doing what the law forbids, and France was filled with crimes. Intoxicated with the idea of sovereignty, they imagined that the overthrow of monarchy would place themselves on the throne; that confiscation would put the property of the rich in their hands. Wretches who were the most ardent in spreading such absurd notions, unfortunately were elected as deputies to the National Assembly; and their first exertions were directed against our unhappy King. Monsters! with what unheard-of barbarity have they treated him! But what calm and dignified courage did he not display! How great does he seem, in his last moments! All their efforts to debate him have been vain. His steadfast virtue has triumphed over their wickedness. It is true, then, that religion alone can give sufficient force to enable the mind of man to support the most dreadful trials with so much dignity. Depart from this city, my dear Abbé. I conjure you not to remain in Paris; you are not safe here; and I advise you to leave the Kingdom as soon as you possibly can. Fly from this accursed land. In it you will find no asylum from those tigers who thirst for your blood. As for my own part, I own I have nothing to fear. They know that the people love me. The murderers dare not touch a hair of my grey head. Nevertheless I shall go to the country to-morrow, that I may not be obliged any

longer to breathe an air infected by those regicides. Adieu, then, my dear Abbé; wherever you go, be assured that I shall always take a very warm interest in whatever regards you."

Thus separated two men, so worthy of the confidence which Louis XVI. placed in each.

Completely to fulfil the principal object of these Memoirs, I shall add to this recital, which may be considered, in some measure, as dictated by the Abbé Edgeworth himself, an account of the King's examination before the Convention, and testament, in which, it is clear, he was assisted by nobody; because they evince the precision and extent of his understanding, and are the strongest proofs of all I have asserted concerning his character.

I am aware that the King has been reproached for having submitted, to no purpose, to the humiliation of attempting a defence before such a court as the Convention: but those who blame him on this account do not reflect, that if he had possessed sufficient energy of character to have pronounced, with a firm and authoritative voice, at the bar of the Assembly, "That he had nothing to answer to revolted subjects; and that he acknowledged no judge but God alone," the same energy would have enabled him to repress the early attempts against his Government; and he never would have been reduced to the extremity of appearing before any court whatever.

Can we justly reproach Louis XVI. that nature lavished upon him in benevolence what she withheld from him in energy? Is it to his account we are to lay the faults of his education? He had faults, undoubtedly; I have not attempted to conceal them: but his unexampled misfortunes have made me forget his faults, and I can remember nothing but his virtues. With regard to his behaviour at his trial, I own that I have always reflected with admiration on the precision and wisdom of his answers, especially as they must have been unpre-

meditated; he having been so closely guarded, that he was ignorant of all that was passing out of his prison, till the moment he was called to appear before the Convention. Yet had the ablest lawyers been permitted to suggest answers to all the prepared questions put to the King by the President of the Convention, it is much to be doubted whether they could have improved, in any respect, on those made by his Majesty.

The King's interrogatory, and his last will, unquestionably composed and written by himself, are sufficient to convince those who never had an opportunity of knowing him, that he possessed a just understanding and a virtuous soul. This truth cannot be too strongly insisted upon; not only because it devotes to the execrations of posterity the authors of all the crimes which produced this horrible Revolution, but also because it is a warning to princes, that the qualities with which Louis was endowed are not alone sufficient to secure them against similar misfortunes.

Extract of the proceedings of the Convention on the 11th of December 1792.

Louis came to the bar;—a profound silence reigned in the Assembly.

The President (Bertrand) said to him,

“Louis, the people of France accuse you; the National Convention has decreed that you shall be tried, and that its members shall be your judges. You shall now hear the declaration of the crimes imputed to you. Louis, be seated.”

The King seated himself.

A secretary read the accusation.

The President then said,

“Louis, you are to answer the questions I am commissioned by the National Convention to propose to you.

“Louis, you are accused of having committed a multitude

of crimes to establish your tyranny by destroying liberty.

“On the 20th of June 1789, you committed an outrage against the sovereignty of the People, by suspending the Assemblies of its representatives, and by driving them with violence from their place of meeting. The proof of this is in the verbal process, drawn up in the Tennis Court at Versailles by the members of the Constituent Assembly. What have you to answer?”

Louis. “I acted against no law then in existence.”

President. “On the 23d of June 1789, you attempted to impose laws upon the nation; you surrounded the sitting of the Constituent Assembly with troops; presented them with two royal declarations subversive of all liberty, and you commanded them to separate?”

To this the King gave the same answer as to the preceding question.

President. “You ordered an army to march against the citizens of Paris; their blood was shed; you did not withdraw the troops till the Bastille was taken, and a general insurrection taught you that the people were victorious. The answers you returned to the deputations of the Constituent Assembly, on the 9th, 12th, and 14th of July, show what your intentions then were; and the massacre at the Tuileries also deposes against you. What have you to answer?”

Louis. “I had, at that time, the power to employ my troops where I thought the circumstances required; but I never had any intention to shed blood.”

President. “After these events, notwithstanding the promise made by you in the Assembly on the 15th, and in the Hotel de Ville on the 17th, you persisted in your projects against the national liberty. You long evaded sanctioning the decree of the 11th of August for abolishing personal servitude, feudal rights, and tithes; you, at first, refused to acknowledge the

declaration of the Rights of Man; you doubled the number of your bodyguards, and ordered the regiment of Flanders to Versailles; during the festival at that place, you permitted the national cockade to be trampled under foot before your face, the white cockade set up, and the nation to be blasphemed. In short, you rendered a new insurrection necessary, and occasioned the death of many citizens. It was not till after the defeat of your guard that you changed your language and renewed your perfidious promises. The proofs of these facts are in your own observations of the 18th of September on the decree of the 10th of August, in the verbal process of the Constituent Assembly on the events which took place at Versailles on the 5th and 6th of October, and in the answer you returned to the Constituent Assembly, namely, 'That you would be guided by their council, and never separate yourself from them.' What have you to answer?"

Louis. "I made the observations which occurred to me, as just and necessary upon the decrees presented to me. The charge respecting the cockade is false. I was witness to no such scene."

President. "At the federation of the 14th of July 1790, you took an oath which you did not adhere to, but endeavoured, on the contrary, to corrupt the public mind through the agency of Talon in Paris, and the influence of Mirabeau in the provinces. You lavished millions to corrupt the public mind: you attempted to make popularity itself an engine against the people. These facts are evident from a memorial of Talon's, verified by your hand, and by a letter which La Porte wrote to you on the 19th of April, in which, speaking of a conversation he had with Rivarol, he informs you, that the sums you had been advised to distribute, had produced nothing."

Louis. "I don't exactly remember what passed at that time;

but all these are circumstances which occurred previous to my accepting the Constitution."

President. "Was it not in consequence of a plan formed by Talon, that you went to the Faubourg St. Antoine, distributed money amongst the poor workmen, telling them that you could do no more for them?"

Louis. "I had no greater satisfaction than in giving to those who required relief: in this I had no insidious design."

President. "Was it not in consequence of the same project that you feigned an indisposition to prepare the public mind for your journey to St. Cloud or to Rambouillet, upon pretext that the country air was necessary for your health?"

Louis. "This accusation is quite absurd."

President. "You had long meditated the design of escaping. A plan for that purpose was presented to you on the 23d of February 1791, which you verified by your own hand-writing; and, on the 28th, a considerable number of officers and nobles assembled in the palace of the Tuileries in order to favour your escape. You attempted to go from Paris to St. Cloud on the 11th of April; but the opposition of the citizens convinced you, that your design was suspected by the public. You endeavoured to dissipate this mistrust by communicating to the Assembly the letter in which you make a declaration to foreign powers, that you had freely accepted the Constitution. Notwithstanding this, you made your escape by the means of a false passport, on the 21st of the month of June following, leaving behind you a declaration against this very Constitution. You ordered the Ministers not to sign any acts which came from the National Assembly; and you prohibited the Minister of Justice from sealing them with the seal of the state; the public money was lavished to ensure the success of this treason; and you ordered de Bouillé to assist you with an armed force; that same officer who commanded at the massa-

cles of Nancy, to whom you wrote on that occasion, 'endeavour to preserve your popularity, it may be useful.' These facts are founded on the memorial of the 23d of February, verified by your hand; and on the declaration of the 20th of June, entirely in your own hand-writing; on your letter of the 4th of September 1790 to Bouillé; and on a note from him, giving you an account of the employment of 993,000 livres which you had given him, and which he had partly expended in corrupting the troops which were to escort you. What have you to answer?"

Louis. "I know nothing of the memorial of the 23d of February. With respect to my journey to Varennes, I refer to the answer I at that time made to the Constituent Assembly."

President. "After you were stopped at Varennes, your executive power was for some time suspended, but you still conspired; and on the 17th of July, the blood of the citizens was shed in the *Champ de Mars*. A letter in your own hand, addressed to La Fayette 1790, proves that a criminal coalition existed between you and him, to which Mirabeau had also agreed. All kinds of corruption were employed by you. You paid the expense of publishing libels, pamphlets, and journals, which tended to pervert the public opinion, to discredit assignats, and to support the cause of the emigrants. The registers of Septeuil state what enormous sums were expended for these profligate purposes. You affected to accept the Constitution of the 14th of September; you declared yourself willing to maintain it; yet you laboured to overthrow it before it was completed. What have you to answer?"

Louis. "What passed on the 17th of July cannot be justly attributed to me. As to the other charges I have no knowledge of them."

President. "A Convention took place at Pilnitz on the

24th of July, between Leopold of Austria and Frederick William of Brandenburg, for the purpose of re-establishing absolute monarchy in France, with which you were acquainted, yet you concealed it from the National Assembly until it was known to all Europe. What have you to answer?"

Louis. "I made it known as soon as I knew it myself; besides by the Constitution, it was the business of the Ministers."

President. "Arles raised the standard of revolt: you favoured it by sending Commissioners, who, in place of endeavouring to check the counter-revolutionists, encouraged them by justifying their attempt. What do you answer?"

Louis. "The Commissioners' instructions will evince the nature of the orders with which they were intrusted. I knew none of the Commissioners when my Ministers proposed them to me."

President. "Avignon and the Venaissin had been reunited to France; but you did not execute the Decree till a month after: during that interval, a civil war desolated the country, and the Commissioners you sent completed the devastation. What have you to answer?"

Louis. "That charge cannot personally affect me. I know not what delay attended the execution of the Decree; but those who were intrusted with it are alone responsible."

President. "Nîmes, Montauban, Mende, and Jalès, experienced violent commotions in the commencement of liberty. You did nothing to extinguish these sparks of counter-revolution till the moment when the conspiracy of Saillans broke out. What do you answer?"

Louis. "I gave the orders upon that occasion, which were proposed to me by my Ministers."

President. "You sent two battalions against the Marsei-

llais, who were marching to reduce the counter-revolutionists of Arles. What have you to answer?"

Louis. "I must see the papers which regard this affair before I can answer the charge."

President. "You gave the command of the south to Weigenstein, who wrote to you on the 21st of April, after he had been recalled, in these terms: 'A few moments longer and I should have surrounded your Majesty's Throne with millions of Frenchmen, rendered once more worthy of the wishes you form for their happiness.' What have you to answer?"

Louis. "This letter, by the statement of the charge, is posterior to his recall. He has never been employed since. I recollect nothing of the letter."

President. "You paid your disbanded bodyguards at Coblenz, as the registers of Septeuil testify; and various orders, signed by you, confirm your having remitted considerable sums to Bouillé, La Vauguyon, Choiseul-Beauprè, d'Hamilton, and the woman Polignac?"⁵

Louis. "I no sooner received intelligence that my body-

⁵ Paul François de Caussade, Duke de La Vauguyon, held the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for the few days between Necker's retirement and his return in July 1789. He was then appointed Ambassador to Spain, whence he was recalled on the 1st June 1790. He was, however, wise enough to remain in Spain, nor did he return to France until the year 1809. The Marquis de Bouille, the Duke de Choiseul, and the Count de Hamilton, were officers who had emigrated. The two former were concerned in the King's journey to Varennes. The "Woman Polignac" was Yolande de Polastron, Duchess de Polignac, the friend on whom Marie Antoinette lavished so much affection and so much treasure. In Mirabeau's speech on the "Red Book," which revealed the list of pensions granted by the Crown before the Revolution, he exclaimed, "One thousand crowns to the family of Arras for saving France; one million to the family of Polignac for ruining it."

The Polignac were among the first nobles to desert France, emigrating on the 16th July 1789. The Duchess died on the 9th December 1793, at Vienna.

guards had assembled in the neighbourhood of the Rhine, than I ordered their pay to be stopped. I remember nothing respecting the rest."

President. "Your brothers, enemies of the state, have called emigrants around their standard; they have raised regiments, borrowed money, and contracted alliances in your name; you did not disavow them till you were well assured that you could not injure their plans. Your correspondence with them is proved by a note in the hand-writing of Louis Stanislaus Xavier, signed by both your brothers, as follows:

"‘I have written to you, but it was by the post, so I could say nothing. We are here two, but in mind only one; the same principles, the same sentiments, the same ardour to serve you, animates us both. We still keep silence; we should injure you by breaking it too soon, but shall speak out when assured of general support, and that moment is near. If they speak to us on the part of those people, we will not listen; if they speak in your name, we will listen, but never alter our course; if, therefore, they should exact that you make some declaration to us, make it without hesitation; be easy with regard to your safety; we only exist to serve you: we shall ardently exert ourselves for that purpose, and everything will go well. Even your enemies have too much interest in your preservation to commit an useless crime which would complete their ruin. Adieu,

“‘L. S. XAVIER, et
CHARLES PHILIPPE.’

"What have you to answer?"

Louis. "As soon as I heard of my brothers' proceedings, I disavowed them as the Constitution prescribes. I have none of their letters."

President. "The troops of the line, who ought to have been

kept up to the war-establishment, amounted only to one hundred thousand men at the end of December; you had thus neglected to guard the safety of the nation. Narbonne, your agent, had required, that fifty thousand additional troops should be raised; but he stopped the levies at twenty-six thousand, declaring that every necessary provision for national defence was made, yet nothing was prepared. Servan proposed to form a camp of twenty thousand men near Paris; the Legislative Assembly decreed this, but you refused to give your sanction to the decree. A patriotic emotion prompted many citizens, in the most distant provinces, to march to Paris; you issued a proclamation, the tendency of which was to stop their march; meanwhile our armies were deficient in soldiers; Dumouriez, who succeeded, declared that the nation was not sufficiently provided in arms, ammunition, or subsistence for the troops; and that the frontier towns were not in a state of defence. What have you to answer?"

Louis. "I gave to the Minister the orders necessary for the augmentation of the army; the statements were laid before the Assembly; if there were errors in them, it was no fault of mine."

President. "You gave directions to the commanders of the troops to relax the discipline of the army, to excite whole regiments to desert, and to pass the Rhine in order to join your brothers, and Leopold of Austria. This fact is proved by a letter of Toulangeon's, commander in *Franche Comté*. What have you to answer?"

Louis. "There is not a word of truth in this accusation."

President. "You commissioned your diplomatic agents to encourage a coalition between your brothers and foreign powers against France, particularly to strengthen the peace between Turkey and Austria; that the latter, by withdrawing her troops from the Turkish frontiers, might be enabled to

direct a greater force against France, as is proved by a letter from Choiseul Gouffier, ambassador of Constantinople. What have you to answer?"

Louis. "M. Choiseul has not spoken the truth; there is no foundation for such an idea."

President. "You neglected to provide for the safety of the nation at a most dangerous crisis; you delayed till the Legislative Assembly required of the Minister Lajard to point out the means of defence, and then, but no sooner, you sent a message to the Assembly, proposing a levy of forty-two battalions. The Prussians were advancing to our frontiers; your Minister was ordered, on the 8th of July, to give an account of our actual situation with regard to Prussia; you answered on the 10th, that fifty thousand Prussians were on their march against us, and that you gave that information to the Assembly as directed by the Constitution. What have you to answer?"

Louis. "I had no knowledge of the fact until the 10th; all diplomatic correspondence was carried on by the Ministers."

President. "You placed Dabancourt (the Baron d'Abancourt),⁶ the nephew of Calonne, at the head of the war department; and such was the success of your treachery, that Longwy and Verdun were delivered up as soon as the enemy appeared before them."

Louis. "I did not know that M. d'Abancourt was the nephew of Calonne; it was not I who dismantled these towns; I never would have authorised it."

President. "Who dismantled Longwy and Verdun?"

⁶ Charles Xavier de Franqueville d'Abancourt, the last Minister of War under Louis XVI., was appointed on the 23rd July, the day after the famous decree of the "Country in Danger."

On the 10th August he undertook the defence of the Tuileries. He was denounced, arrested, and sent for trial by the High Court at Orleans. With the other political prisoners there he was sent, under the charge of Fournier to Paris, and murdered at Versailles on the 9th September 1792.

Louis. "If such was their situation, I knew nothing of it."

President. "You have destroyed our Navy; so many of its officers emigrated, that there hardly remained a sufficient number for the service; nevertheless Bertrand continued to grant passports; and when the legislative body represented to you, on the 8th of March, his criminal conduct, you answered, that you were satisfied with his services?"

Louis. "I did everything in my power to retain the officers in the service. The National Assembly produced no charge which appeared to me of a criminal nature against Bertrand, therefore I did not think it just to dismiss him."

President. "You countenanced absolute Government in the colonies; your agents fomented disturbances, and the counter-revolution there, at the same time that it was to have taken place in France."

Louis. "If any persons called themselves my agents in the colonies, they did it without authority from me. I gave no countenance for anything of the nature you mention."

President. "The national tranquillity was disturbed by fanatics; you showed yourself their protector, and manifested an evident intention of recovering your former power by their means. What do you answer?"

Louis. "I have no answer to make to this charge. I had no knowledge of any such design."

President. "The legislative body, on the 29th of November, passed a decree against seditious priests, but you suspended the execution of it. What have you to answer?"

Louis. "The Constitution allowed me the free power of sanctioning or rejecting Decrees."

President. "Disturbances increased; the Minister declared, that he knew no existing laws by which the guilty could be punished. The legislative body passed a new decree; you suspended the execution of that also."

Louis.— The same reply.

President. “The bad conduct of the Guard which the Constitution had given to you was such, that the Assembly was under the necessity of decreeing that they should be disbanded; the day after, you wrote a letter to the Assembly, declaring your satisfaction, and you continued to pay them, as is proved by the accounts of the Treasurer of the Civil List.”

Louis. “I only continued their pay until they should be re-established according as the Decree required.”

President. “You retained your Swiss guard about your person in contradiction to the Constitution, and after the Legislative Assembly had expressly ordered their departure. What do you answer?”

Louis. “I conformed to the Decree on that subject.”

President. “You authorised d’Angremont and Gilles secretly to maintain private companies in Paris, for the purpose of exciting commotions favourable to your plans of counter-revolution. The receipts of Gilles, who was ordered to organize a company of sixty men, will be presented to you. What have you to answer?”

Louis. “I am quite ignorant of those schemes attributed to me. The idea of a counter-revolution never entered my head.”

President. “You endeavoured, by considerable sums, to bribe several members of the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies. This fact is proved by letters from Dufresne Saint Léon, and many others, which will be produced.”

Louis. “Such plans were frequently presented to me, but I rejected them.”

President. “Who were the members of the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies whom you corrupted?”

Louis. “I have never sought to corrupt any. I know of none.”



Voltaire

President. "Who were the persons that presented plans to you?"

Louis. "The plans were so absurd, that I don't recollect."

President. "To whom did you promise money?"

Louis. "To none."

President. "You suffered the French nation to be degraded in Germany, Italy, and Spain, by not exacting reparation for the insults offered to the French in these countries. What have you to answer?"

Louis. "The diplomatic correspondence proves the contrary. At any rate, that was the business of the Ministers."

President. "On the 10th of August you reviewed the Swiss guard at five o'clock in the morning, and they fired first on the citizens. What have you to answer?"

Louis. "I that day reviewed all the troops that were assembled near me. The constituted authorities, the Mayor of Paris, etc. were present. I had even requested a deputation might be sent me from the National Assembly, that they might advise me how I should act in that emergency; and I afterwards took refuge in the Assembly, with my family."

President. "Why did you cause the Swiss Guard to be doubled, in the beginning of August?"

Louis. "All the constituted authorities knew that the Palace was to be attacked. As I was one of the constituted authorities, I had a right to defend myself."

President. "Why did you send for the Mayor of Paris on the evening of the 9th of August?"

Louis. "Because of the rumours which were spread."

President. "You caused the blood of Frenchmen to be shed."

Louis. "No, sir, it was not I."

President. "Did not you authorise Septeuil to undertake a commercial speculation in grain, sugar, and coffee, at Ham-

burgh, and in other towns? This is proved by Septeuil's own letters."

Louis. "I know nothing about what you mention."

President. "Why did you put a *veto* on the decree, ordering a camp to be formed around Paris?"

Louis. "The Constitution gave me full powers to sanction decrees or not. At that time I ordered a camp nearer the frontiers, at Soissons."

President. "Louis, have you anything to add in your defence?"

Louis. "I demand a copy of the act of accusation, and that I may be allowed a counsel to conduct my cause."

The last Will and Testament of Louis XVI.

"In the name of the Holy Trinity, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. This day, the 21st day of December 1792, I Louis XVI., King of France, having been for more than four months shut up with my family in the tower of the Temple, by those who were my subjects, and deprived of every communication, even with my family, since the 11th of this month; and being moreover involved in a trial, of which, from the passions of men, it is impossible to foresee the event; and for which neither pretext nor precedent can be found in any existing law: having no witness of my thoughts but God, and no one but him to whom I can address myself, I here declare, in his presence, my last Will and sentiments.

"I recommend my soul to God my Creator, beseeching him to receive it in his mercy, and not to judge me according to my merits, but according to the merits of Jesus Christ our Lord, who offered himself as a sacrifice to God his Father for the human race, unworthy as we are, I myself in particular. I die in the communion of our Holy Mother, the Cath-

olic, Apostolic, and Roman Church, which holds its powers by an uninterrupted succession from St. Peter, to whom Jesus Christ intrusted them. I firmly believe all that is contained in the Apostle's Creed, and in the commandments of God and the Church; in the sacraments and mysteries as the Catholic Church teaches and has always taught. I have never presumed to make myself a judge of the different manners of explaining the doctrines which divide the Church of Jesus Christ, but I have always adhered to, and if it pleases God to prolong my life, shall always abide by, the decisions which the superior ecclesiastics, in union with the Holy Church, have given, according to the discipline observed since Jesus Christ. I lament, with my whole heart, those of my brethren of mankind who are in error, but do not presume to judge them; and I do not the less love them all in Jesus Christ, as Christian charity enjoins. I implore God to pardon all my sins. I have endeavoured scrupulously to know them, to detest them, and to humble myself in the presence of the Almighty. Not having it in my power to avail myself of the ministry of a Catholic Priest (the King did not know that the ministrations of the Abbé Edgeworth would be allowed), I pray God to receive the confession which I have made to him; above all, my deep repentance for having signed my name (although against my will) to acts contrary to the discipline and belief of the Catholic Church, to which my heart has ever been sincerely united. I beseech God to accept my firm resolution of taking the first opportunity in my power of making a full confession of my sins to a Catholic Priest, and of receiving the sacrament of Penitence. I beg all those whom I have offended, through inadvertency (for I do not recollect having ever intentionally offended any one), and also those to whom I may have given a bad example, to forgive me for the evil which such conduct may have produced. I beseech all those who are endowed with charity to

join their prayers with mine, to obtain of God the pardon of my iniquities. I pardon, with my whole heart, those who have become my enemies without cause, and I pray God to pardon them; as also those who, from false or mistaken zeal, have done me the greatest injuries.

“I recommend to God my wife, my children, my sister, my aunts, my brothers, and all those who are attached to me by the ties of blood, or in any manner whatsoever. I earnestly intreat of God to cast the eyes of mercy on my wife, my children, and my sister, who have for a long time suffered with me; and in case of their losing me, that he may be their support and consolation, as long as they shall remain in this perishable world.

“I recommend my children to my wife. I never doubted her maternal tenderness; and I recommend, above all, that she will carefully endeavour to make them good Christians; to teach them to consider worldly grandeur as dangerous and perishable, and to fix their minds on eternity, where alone solid and lasting glory is to be found. I intreat my sister to continue her tenderness to my children, and that she will be to them as a parent, if they should have the misfortune to lose their mother. I beseech my wife to forgive me all those hardships she has undergone on my account, and all the uneasiness I may have given her in the course of our union; and if she should think that she has any cause to reproach herself on account of any part of her conduct towards me, she may rest assured that I retain nothing on my mind unfavourable to her.

“I recommend, with the greatest earnestness, to my children, after what they owe to God, which must ever be considered as their first duty, to remain always united to each other, submissive and obedient to their mother, and grateful for the pain and care she takes of them; and I conjure them, for my

sake, that they will respect their aunt as a second mother.

“If my son should ever have the misfortune to be established on the Throne, I anxiously recommend that he should devote himself to the happiness of his countrymen; that he ought to divest himself of all resentments and animosities, particularly those which have a reference to my misfortunes and miseries. He can insure the happiness of the people only by reigning according to the laws; although, at the same time, a King cannot make himself respected, and do all the good which is in his heart, without a necessary degree of authority. Without that his power is too limited to be of any use; and as he cannot then inspire respect, he necessarily becomes more hurtful than useful.

“I recommend to my son to take care of all those persons who have been attached to me, as far as the circumstances, in which he may find himself, shall afford him opportunity. He ought ever to regard this as a sacred debt which I have contracted towards the children or parents of those who perished for my sake, or have been rendered miserable on my account. I know there are several persons, amongst those who were attached to me, who have not behaved towards me as they ought to have done, and who have even shown ingratitude: but I forgive them (for in times of trouble and effervescence, men are not always masters of their conduct); and I beseech my son, should he find an opportunity of serving them, to reflect only on their misfortunes.

“I wish it were in my power openly to express my gratitude to all who have shown me a truly disinterested attachment: but if I have been painfully affected by the ingratitude and disloyalty of those to whom I have always acted with kindness, I have likewise had the consolation of receiving services and strong marks of attachment from several of my subjects, on whom I never had bestowed any favour. I beg that all

those persons will accept my grateful acknowledgments. In the present situation of things, I fear that I should injure them by being more explicit on this subject: but I particularly exhort my son to seek opportunities of making them a suitable return. I think, however, that it would be calumniating the nation to express any fear of openly recommending to my son M. de Chamilly⁷ and M. Hue,⁷ whose sincere attachment to me has induced them to shut themselves up along with me in this melancholy abode, and who have been frequently in danger of becoming victims to their generosity. I also recommend to him Cléry,⁷ with whose attention I have every reason

⁷ Claude Lorimier d'Estages de Chamilly was First Valet de Chambre to Louis XVI. After the 10th August he was imprisoned in La Force, but had the extraordinary fortune to be set free by the September Murderers. Again imprisoned he was condemned by the Revolutionary Tribunal and guillotined, 23rd June 1794.

François Hué was First Valet de Chambre to the Dauphin. He was permitted to follow the King to the Temple, but in the course of a few days he was twice arrested and taken to the Hotel de Ville. On the second of these occasions Billaud-Varennes proposed his removal to the Abbaye, but Tallien caused him to be kept in custody at the Hotel de Ville, where he remained safely confined in a cell, while the Massacres were going on. He was then set free, but was not permitted to return to the Temple. He contrived in various ways to continue a correspondence with the King, and after his death, with the Queen, until he was again imprisoned in 1793. In December 1795, the Princess Royal was exchanged for a number of French Representatives who were in Austrian prisons, and at her request Hué accompanied her, and from that time forward served Louis XVIII. and the Royal Family, either as agent in various countries or as principal attendant on his own person. In 1806 he published in London an interesting book on the last years of the life of Louis XVI. In 1815, when Louis XVIII. quitted France on the return of Napoleon from Elba, Hué received and executed the perilous commission of taking from the Treasury the crown jewels and carrying them to Ghent, where the King took up his abode during the hundred days. He died in January 1819.

Jean Baptiste Cléry remained as the sole servant of Louis XVI. in the Temple. The King's last words on parting with him were (according to Cléry, whose word may be thoroughly trusted), "I am well

to be satisfied since he has been with me; and as he has remained with me to the last, I beg of the Commune to give to him my clothes, my books, my watch, my money, and all the other effects belonging to me which have been deposited into the hands of the Council of the Commune.

"I most willingly pardon those who guarded me for the harshness of their conduct, and the constraint which they thought necessary to impose upon me. I have found in the Temple some persons of feeling and humanity: may they long enjoy that serenity of mind which such dispositions naturally produce!

"I beseech Messrs. de Malesherbes, Tronchet, and Desèze to receive my most grateful thanks and cordial acknowledgments for the pain and labour they have taken for me.

"I conclude, by declaring, before God, being ready to appear in his presence, that I do not reproach myself with any of those crimes which have been charged against me.

"LOUIS."

pleased with all you have done for me. Take courage and do not abandon yourself to grief. I shall desire the Communal authorities to leave you with my son. You alone have witnessed my sufferings here. Tell him the whole truth; it is often more painful not to know everything." After a short, solitary imprisonment in the small tower of the Temple, Cléry was released in March 1793 but was shortly afterwards arrested and sent to the prison of La Force, where he remained in daily expectation of death until the fall of Robespierre opened the doors to the prisoners of the Terror. In 1795 he joined the Princess Royal and Hué at Vienna and remained in her service and in that of Louis XVIII., who treated him with much distinction and conferred upon him the Order of St. Louis, until his death in 1808.

Cléry's "Journal of occurrences at the Temple during the confinement of Louis XVI." was first published in French and English in 1798. In the same year an edition in French was secretly printed by Giquet and Michaud in Paris. This issue is now a rare and valuable bibliographical treasure.

Frenchmen,

Such are the sentiments which holy religion inspires, whose sacred altars you have permitted to be overturned! Such was the King who was represented to you as a tyrant, and whom you permitted to be murdered in your name!

How long are you to endure the greatest of all tyrannies? How long are you to be constrained to celebrate, as a national festival, the anniversary of that execrable regicide?

LOUIS THE SIXTEENTH.

CONCLUSION.

THE French Revolution is an awful lesson both to sovereigns and subjects. May the instruction it conveys not be lost to the human race, who have purchased it at the price of so much blood, nor to France, which it has plunged into so much guilt! May it teach Kings, that benevolence, piety, and all the mild and amiable virtues which can adorn a throne, are not the qualities the most effectual for its support! Justice and prudence to Command, vigour and firmness in exacting obedience, are the only virtues by which a Sovereign can maintain his authority, and which can effectually secure him against the dangers of a Revolution.

A King who is always just, is sure to be sufficiently benevolent: but a benevolent King is not always sure of being a just one.

May the people, admonished by our calamities, learn to regard the Government, under which they are born, as their most invaluable property; as the surest protection of everything that is dear to them! Let the experience of all ages, and of all nations, convince them, that there never existed a Government free from abuses; that those to which they are accustomed are the easiest to support. Let them be taught, that those ambitious, wicked, or mad persons, who, under the specious pretext of reforming abuses, shall propose a change in their Government, will ever prove their most dangerous enemies. It is to their insidious doctrines and diabolical machinations that France may impute the horrible catastrophes

and innumerable calamities which overwhelm and disgrace her.

How ought she now to abhor those outrageous apostles of Liberty and the Sovereignty of the People, who have never been able nor inclined to produce any other result from their doctrines than licentiousness and anarchy! How ought she to abhor those pretended restorers of the Rights of Man, who have violated, with impunity, all those rights, and who have trodden under foot the most sacred laws of humanity!

It would be a most dangerous misapprehension of the nature and principles of our Revolution which should lead us to believe, that a horror at the crimes and misfortunes which have accompanied it will arrest its progress. It is but too plain, that it still threatens all civilised nations; and that if the Governments and persons of property of every country, whom the fanaticism of Equality, Liberty and the Sovereignty of the People have not yet infected, do not unite their efforts, by every possible means, to counteract the effects of this moral pestilence, what has occurred to France will be only the first steps towards the general disorganization of social order. This pestilence becomes more deadly and more dangerous than any physical calamity, because it is more easy to disguise its poison, by imputing all the crimes which have sullied the French Revolution to the ignorance and wickedness of its authors.

Sufficient attention has not been paid to the efficacy of the means which the dextrous propagators of revolutionary doctrines have employed to render them seducing to the eyes of the multitude. With what hypocrisy and fertility of invention have they not employed all the charms of imagination, enthusiasm, and eloquence! With what art have they not combined all the passions which have most sway over mankind — ambition, vanity, the love of independence, of riches, of power! Is there a Nation under Heaven, the majority of which is suf-

ficiently enlightened to resist such a bait, when employed with so much address, and presented to each individual under the form most likely to allure him? How many worthy and well-meaning men have we not seen in France, who have allowed themselves to be seduced by the idea, that a Revolution of some kind was necessary to give a Constitution to our Monarchy, which they were told was without one; and which, by a chance the most extraordinary, had existed during a period of many centuries, without a Constitution?

To give to this paradox, equally dangerous and absurd, all the force of a simple and demonstrated truth, our modern politicians have begun by establishing, that a Monarchical Constitution could not exist but by a great Charter, or by a solemn contract between the King and the people. The necessary consequence of this strange distinction was, that France, having neither a great charter, nor a solemn contract between the King and the People, had no Constitution.

This consequence is certainly the only one which occurred to the authors of this definition, or those whom it has deceived: but it presents two others, equally incontestable, which well deserve attention. The first is, that England, Denmark, and North America, being the only states which have a Charter, or a solemn contract between the People and the Government; all the others, which have existed in prosperity without it, from the beginning of the world to the present time, may still dispense with it. The second is, that if it were demonstrated, that by the natural progress of civilization and philosophy, a Government could not now subsist without a Constitution, that is to say, without a charter, or solemn contract between the Nation and the Government, it follows, of course, that the French Revolution must pervade every country, and overturn every Government, except those of England, Denmark, and North America. These errors, which have been so disastrous to

France, had not, however, the merit or the danger of novelty. They have been long since refuted by Blackstone, in his immortal work on the Laws of England. The opinion of that celebrated lawyer and political writer, which has always been cited with veneration in England, may, with confidence, be opposed to the sophistry of our modern Solons.

“Not that we can believe, with some theoretical writers, that there ever was a time when there was no such thing as Society; and that, from the impulse of reason, and through a sense of their wants and weaknesses, individuals met together in a large plain, entered into an original contract, and chose the tallest man present to be their Governor. This notion of an actually existing, unconnected state of nature, is too wild to be seriously admitted.

“But though Society had not its formal beginning from any convention of individuals, actuated by their wants and their fears, yet it is the sense of their weakness and imperfection that keeps mankind together. This demonstrates the necessity of union; which, therefore, is the solid and natural foundations and origin of Society. And this is what we mean by the original contract of Society; which, though perhaps in no instance it has ever been formally expressed at the first institution of a state, yet in nature and reason must always be understood and implied in the very act of associating together; for when Society is once formed, Government results of course, as necessary to preserve and to keep that Society in order. Unless some superior be constituted, whose commands and decisions all the members are bound to obey, they would still remain as in a state of nature, without any judge upon earth to define their several rights, and redress their several wrongs.

“How the several forms of Government we now see in the world at first actually began, is matter of great uncertainty, and has occasioned infinite disputes. It is not my business

or intention to enter into any of them. However they began, or by what right soever they subsist, there is and must be in all of them a supreme, irresistible, absolute, uncontrolled authority, in which the *jura summi imperii*, or the rights of Sovereignty, reside; and this authority is placed in those hands, wherein (according to the opinion of the founders of such respective states, either expressly given, or collected from their tacit approbation) the qualities requisite for supremacy, wisdom, goodness, and power, are the most likely to be found.”—Vide *Blackstone’s Preliminary Discourse*, second section, upon the *Nature of General Laws*.

“It is indisputable,” continues the same author, “that Parlements, or general councils, are coëval with the Kingdom itself.” Yet it was not till the year 1215 that the Constitution of Parlement, as it now stands, was established under the reign of King John, by the famous Charter granted by that prince.

It is not a little remarkable (according to the testimony of Blackstone, in the same chapter), that the execution of this solemn Constitution does not appear to have begun till the year 1266, under the reign of Henry III.

These facts, and many others which the history of England furnishes, and which it would be tedious to detail, manifestly establish, in the first place, that it is possible for Government to have a Constitution, without having a great Charter. For many ages before the *Magna Charta*, England had a King; consequently a Monarchical Government, and consequently a Constitution; for a Government can no more exist without a Constitution adapted to it, than an effect can subsist without a cause.

Secondly, That a Constitution is not more stable, nor better executed, for being deposited in a Charter; for the Charter of 1215 was not put in execution till fifty years afterwards, and even then in a very imperfect manner. King John, by that

Charter, promised to summon all archbishops, abbots, earls, and greater barons personally, and all other tenants in chief under the Crown, by the sheriffs and bailiffs, to meet at a certain place with forty days' notice, to assess, aid, &c.; and King Henry III., by the summons of 1266, mentioned by Blackstone, only calls to Parlement knights, citizens, and burgesses.

In the present Constitution of the Parlement, the *Magna Charta* is only executed with regard to the House of Peers, because the convocation of Lords spiritual and temporal necessarily includes archbishops, bishops, earls and viscounts: but the Convocation of the Commons does not include all who hold to the Crown, but only the citizens and burgesses, summoned by the ordinance of 1266.

It is, however, certain, that a just idea can no more be formed of the English Government, such as it exists at present, from a perusal of the great Charter, than we could have a knowledge of what the French Government was, previous to the Revolution, from the *Capitularia* of the second race of French Kings, which were nevertheless as authentic as the *Magna Charta*; and some articles of the same *Capitularia* were still in force when the Revolution began.

“The great Charter,” as Blackstone observes, “which was obtained, sword in hand, from King John, and afterwards, with some alterations, confirmed in Parlement by King Henry III., contains very few new grants; but was, for the most part, declaratory of the principal grounds of the fundamental Laws of England, afterwards confirmed by the statute called *Confirmatio Cartarum*, whereby the great Charter is directed to be allowed as the common law; next, by a multitude of subsequent corroborating Statutes, from the first Edward to Henry IV.; then, after a long interval, by the Petition of Rights, which was a parliamentary declaration of the liberties of the People, assented to by King Charles I., in the be-

ginning of his reign; which was closely followed by the still more ample concessions made by that unhappy Prince to his Parlement, before the fatal rupture between them; and by the many salutary laws, particularly the *Habeas Corpus* Act, passed under Charles II. To these succeeded the Bill of Rights, or Declaration delivered by the Lords and Commons to the Prince and Princess of Orange, 13th February 1688, and afterwards enacted in Parlement, when they became King and Queen; which Declaration concludes in these remarkable words: ‘and they do claim, demand, and insist upon all and singular the premises, as their undoubted rights and liberties.’ And the act of Parlement itself recognises ‘all and singular the rights and liberties asserted and claimed in the said Declaration to be the true, ancient, and indubitable rights of the People of this Kingdom.’ Lastly, these liberties were again asserted at the commencement of the present century, ‘the birth-right of the People of England,’ according to the present Majesty’s illustrious house; and some new provisions were added, at the same fortunate era, for better securing our religion, laws, and liberties; which the statute declares to be ‘the birth-right of the People of England,’ according to the ancient doctrine of the common law.”— Vide *Blackstone*, book i., chap. i. of *absolute rights of individuals*.

It is not then in the Great Charter, but in the entire body of the English Laws, that we must look for the Constitution of England; in the same manner as the ancient Constitution of France did not consist in the Salique law, but was composed of the *Capitularia*, the great Ordinances issued in consequence of representations of the States-General, and in contracts or treaties by which particular Provinces were united to the Crown; in a word, of all the Laws which our Kings swore, at their Coronation, to maintain. Thus the whole body of the laws by which a State is governed, determines the nature of

its Government, and forms what is called its Constitution. Every other definition must be founded in sophistry or absurdity. These laws are equally sacred and permanent, whether they are deposited in a Great Charter, or exist independent of it; because the seal of Sovereign Power stamps on all the same degree of stability and authenticity.

The manner in which these Laws are established in every country depends upon the nature of their respective Governments, and always indicates the particular form of that Government into which they are introduced; for instance, in Governments purely monarchical, such as that of France before the Revolution, these Laws proceeded from the King himself; because the right of making new laws, and of abrogating the old, belonged inseparably to the Sovereign Power, with which he alone was invested.

In mixed or limited Monarchies, such as that of England, where the Sovereign Power resides in a Parlement, composed of King, Lords, and Commons, the Laws originate from that Parlement; "for," says Blackstone, "by the Sovereign Power is meant the making of Laws; for wherever that power resides, all others must conform to, and be directed by it, whatever appearance the outward form and administration of the Government may put on; for it is at any time in the option of the Legislature to alter that form and administration by a new edict or rule, and to put the execution of the Laws into whatever hands it pleases: and all the other powers of the state must obey the legislative power in the execution of their several functions, or else the Constitution is at an end."

This principle is equally recognised by Montesquieu, and by all the political writers whose opinions are of any weight. It is of the more importance to understand it, because the false consequences which have been deduced from it have produced

the errors which led to the French Revolution, and the crimes which have accompanied it.

“Every Government,” it has been said, “in which the absolute power of making new Laws, and abrogating the old, resides exclusively and finally in the hands of one person, is a despotic Government: but this is the very power which exists in the Kings of France; for any opposition which may possibly be attempted by the States-General, or any resistance made by the Parlements, can have little or no avail, because the States-General can never assemble without the King’s leave, and he has the power of silencing the Parlements when he pleases, by *lettres de jussions*, *lettres de cachet*, or *lits de justice*. The French Government, therefore, is indisputably despotic.”

I imagine I have stated that fatal argument in all its force, by which the ignorant or perfidious detractors of our Monarchy have endeavoured to prove that we were not free, that France had not a Constitution, and that of course one must be given to it, &c., &c. But by what inconceivable blindness has it escaped observation, that this argument attacks all existing Governments with equal force; and whatever is their nature or form, declares them all to be equally despotic? In truth, no Government ever has existed, or ever can, in which an absolute, supreme, and independent Power does not exist, as Blackstone has established, in the passage already quoted. The same author moreover observes,

“The exclusive right of making Laws constitutes that Sovereign Power, wherever it resides; that is to say, when it is lodged in an aggregate Assembly, consisting of all the members of the community, which is called a Democracy; when it is lodged in a council composed of select members, and then is styled an Aristocracy; or when it is intrusted in the hands of a single person, and then takes the name of a Monarchy.”

In these three sorts of Governments the Sovereign Power is identically the same; that is to say, one, absolute and irresistible, and in each possesses the exclusive right of making new laws and abrogating the old; therefore if this power constitutes Despotism, it follows, that all Governments are equally despotic, only with this difference, that in the Democratic, it is the despotism of the multitude; in the Aristocratic, the despotism of a few; and in the Monarchic, the despotism of one man. In vain we change our form of Government, we must always find despotism, because we find in all, the same Sovereign Power, without which no Government can exist.

All reasoning contrary to these incontestible principles is founded upon the common mistake of perpetually confounding absolute with arbitrary Power; although the one is the essential and necessary attribute of every Government, and the other their degradation. The Sovereign Power must always be absolute in every Government whatever. The moment it ceases to be such, and finds a resistance which it cannot overcome, the resisting force becomes, in fact, the Supreme Power, insurrection annihilates legal authority, and the Government no longer exists. Arbitrary power, or rather the arbitrary exercise of Sovereign Authority, constitutes Despotism: but this arbitrary exercise of Sovereign Authority is not to be confounded with the Power, essentially arbitrary, of making new or revoking old Laws, as often as he, or those who are invested with Supreme Power, think it necessary or useful. It is of importance to pay attention to this distinction; for if the person or persons so invested were not exclusively the sole judges respecting the circumstances which render one particular Law preferable to another, it would be indispensably necessary that there should exist another superior authority, on whom that right should devolve, and then the Sovereign Power would necessarily exist in that superior authority, which of course

would possess the power, always *arbitrary*, of making and revoking Laws, but which, considered in a true point of view, cannot be called *Despotic*.

I shall only observe, in support of my opinion, that if the faculty, necessarily inherent in the Legislature, of enacting new Laws, and revoking, arbitrarily, the ancient, was an attribute of Despotism, the English Government would then be, without doubt, the most despotic upon earth; for there exists none, in which the Legislative Power is more completely invested with that authority. Blackstone has declared this in the most positive terms.

“The power and jurisdiction of Parlement,” says Sir Edward Coke, “is so transcendant and absolute, that it cannot be confined, either for causes or persons, within bounds. It hath sovereign and uncontrollable authority in making, confirming, enlarging, restraining, abrogating, repealing, reviving, and expounding of Laws, concerning matters of all possible denominations, ecclesiastical or temporal, civil, military, maritime, or criminal: this being the place where that absolute, despotic Power, which must in all Governments reside somewhere, is entrusted by the Constitution of these Kingdoms. It can regulate or new-model the succession to the Crown; as was done in the reign of Henry VIII. and William III. It can alter the established religion of the land; as was done, in a variety of instances, in the reign of King Henry VIII. and his three children. It can change and create afresh even the Constitution of the Kingdom, and of Parlements themselves; as was done by the Act of Union, and the several statutes for triennial and septennial elections. It can, in short, do everything that is not naturally impossible.”

Sir Matthew Hale observes, “This being the highest and greatest Court, over which none other can have jurisdiction in the Kingdom, if by any means a misgovernment should any

way fall upon it, the subjects of this Kingdom are left without all manner of remedy."

The newly-imagined distinction, made by Montesquieu, betwixt the Legislative and Executive Power, which is regarded by our modern politicians as one of the most valuable discoveries of the age, appears to me in a very different light; the more deeply I have examined it, the more I became convinced of its being a source of errors, as dangerous as subtle: their tendency is nothing less than the destruction of every Government. It is upon this distinction that our revolutionary orators have rested all their declamation, and established the pretended principle, "that the Legislative and Executive Power, being in the same hand, constituted Despotism." Far from daring to raise the slightest doubt against this assertion, it has been regarded as a fundamental truth, and, of course, the opinion has generally prevailed, that *France, where that union exists, was therefore under the yoke of Despotism*; and, that the only means of delivering it from that shameful slavery, was to separate the Legislative Power from the Executive, by a line which neither could pass, and by placing them in different hands; but our experience has taught, that as soon as this separation, so simple and innocent in theory, was put in execution, all the springs of Government were at once broken; our ancient Monarchy was shaken from the foundation, the edifice fell in pieces, and the most horrible anarchy was raised on its ruins.

Such will be the fate of all Kingdoms in which the same doctrine shall be established; for there is not a single Government (I will even venture to assert that none can exist) in which the Legislative and Executive Power are not in some degree united in the same hands, and nearly in the same proportion they formerly were in France; for this plain reason, that no Government can exist without Supreme Power; and

that what essentially constitutes Supreme Power, is the right of framing Laws, united to the power that is necessary to maintain their execution. In reality, when the Legislative Power, or rather that of making Laws, is completely separated from the power of enforcing their execution, it is no more than what belongs to every man of an upright understanding, that of writing and publishing precepts, which, when conformable to the principles of morality, and the law of nature, are adopted and followed by all reasonable and good men, without their being constrained to it. But it is not for good men that it is necessary to unite the Legislative with the Executive Power, but for the too numerous class of unjust and ill-intentioned men, who are to be restrained from crimes only by the fear of punishment; and therefore this union has even been considered as the necessary basis of all Governments; for the primitive object of their institution was, to force individuals of every class to obey the established Laws of the general interest.

In order to render this truth evident, it will be sufficient to define what must be understood by Executive Power.

We must, in the first place, distinguish Executive Power from its immense chain of intermediate agents, from the Lord Chief Justice to the common hangman, who, in all Governments, definitively exert the Executive Power, or consummate its last act. It is to these agents that the function of executing the Laws exclusively devolves; and, consequently, the Executive Power, considered as an attribute of Sovereign Power, consists in a right to give to its agents the order of executing the Laws; in the faculty, of furnishing them with the means of enforcing that execution, and the power of rendering them responsible for the execution.

Such is the just and precise definition of Executive Power. It was in this manner that our Kings exerted it in France; and in this manner that it has been exerted in England, and in all

Governments whatever; because it is impossible that it can be otherwise.

If Despotism was the consequence of joining the Legislative Power to the Executive, such as I have defined it, I could easily demonstrate, that every existing Government is despotic.

To begin with Republics; it is evident, that, in them, those who make the Laws, are the same men who give to their agents the orders and means of enforcing and executing them.

In England, where it is justly boasted, that these two Powers are separated as much as possible, without endangering the safety of the State, they are both, in reality, united in the hands of the King, nearly as completely as they were in France, though less so in appearances; with this difference, that in England the plenitude of Executive Power is placed in the hands of the King without participation or obstacle; whereas in France, the opposition and remonstrances of Parlements, and of the States of the Provinces, often stopped the execution of the Laws, and sometimes caused them to be revoked or restricted.

The King of England cannot make laws; they must be proposed to him by the Houses of Peers and Commons; but no Law can be established but such as he approves, and gives his consent to; his assent alone can render it efficient; that is to say, in England, as in France, the King is exclusively invested with the right of exercising that act of Sovereignty which essentially constitutes the Supreme Power, namely, that of making a Law valid by his assent, which constitutes the essential part of Legislative Authority; for the faculty of framing a Law, is not a political power. In France, the King did not make Laws more than in England; they were usually proposed to him by his Council, and sometimes by the States-General, by the Parlements, or by the States of the Provinces: it may be said, indeed, that in France, the Ministers who com-

posed the Council, being nominated by the King, can have no other will than his, and dare not refuse to draw up any Law which he chooses to demand; while, in England, the Parliament, which is the only legislative council, is composed of the Representatives of the Nation, either hereditary or elective. But it may be answered to this objection, that the English Constitution, whilst apparently reducing that part of the Legislative Power which belongs to the King, fully compensates it by the means of influence which is put in his hands.

Thus in the present state of the English Government, the portion of Legislative Power exerted by the King, is nearly as extensive as that which the Kings of France possessed. It is true, that if the Parliamentary reform, which has been so often proposed, but is now deferred till peace, should it ever take place, a new order of things would be introduced, and the influence of the Crown greatly weakened. But may it not also happen (which God forbid!), that the intended reform may entirely upset the Government! However that may be, in my opinion, there is no political truth more evident than this, that the prosperity and safety of a nation depends, and will always depend, in the wise combination of the Legislative and Executive Power in the hands of those to whom the Sovereign Power is intrusted, which consists in the union of the two powers. I have certainly said enough to prove, that their union never can produce Despotism; that, therefore, the supposed necessity of separating them is a system equally pernicious and absurd. The same may be said of those ideas and exaggerated fears of Despotism, which we Frenchmen have had the simplicity to believe inherent in the nature of our Government, because there were state-prisons in France, and because Ministers sometimes made an unjust use of *lettres de cachet*; as if there were not state-prisons in the freest countries; and as if particular acts of tyranny, by the agents of the Executive

Power, which happen in every Government, could alter their nature.

With respect to *lettres de cachet*, as no Law authorised them, nothing was more easy than to have abolished them irrevocably, on the requisition of the States-General, and without altering the form of the Government; but fear never reasons; and it was, in reality, the panic terror of Despotism, which delivered up France to thousands of Despots more atrocious and sanguinary than any of those whose crimes have been transmitted by history.

Despotism cannot be called a Government, but rather an abuse to which all Governments are liable; and perhaps it is less to be feared from those in which Sovereign Authority is in the hands of one individual, than in those Governments where the Sovereign Power is in the hands of many.

The best Constitution is certainly that which is best defended against Despotism, and which is provided with the most effectual means of repressing its usurpations; and, perhaps, the ancient Constitution of France, which is so little known, and has been so much calumniated, united these two advantages in a degree that ought to have inspired the thinking part of the nation with zeal to defend it.

These two propositions are of so much importance as to require a fuller explanation.

I have said, that Despotism was less to be apprehended under the Government of one, than under that of many. And I have certainly said the truth, if I can prove, that Despotism can be more easily introduced, more firmly established, and exercised with greater violence under the Government of many, than under that of one. In the first place, all mankind are desirous of power and riches; those who are not in possession of these advantages, wish to acquire them; and those already in possession of them, endeavour to augment what they have.

These passions, which have, with some shades of difference, equally characterised men of every class, in every age and country, may naturally be supposed to have less influence over the minds of Princes, who are by birth possessed of more power and riches, than others. It is in the passions of men, but above all, in ambition and avarice, that we must search for the cause of Despotism. The ambitious man, invested with a little power, is naturally inclined to use every means lawful, or unlawful, to augment it. The avaricious man, if powerful enough to plunder the weak, will not fail to plunder them. The violent, the revengeful, and the cruel, exercise every act of despotism to satisfy those passions, provided that they are endowed with that energy and character requisite for despotism; for every one has not the power of being despotic who has the inclination to be so.

The same men, who, taken separately, would have an horror at the idea of a single act of Despotism, when united, animate and embolden each other to perpetrate many without scruple. Whether it is because the resolution of each individual gains strength from that of the whole, or because the more timid are certain of partaking equally in the additional power or riches resulting from successful acts of Despotism, and of having an unequal share of responsibility in the acts which are unsuccessful.

If, as I flatter myself, these propositions are just, it evidently follows:

1st, That Kings are less inclined to Despotism than other men, because they are necessarily less sensible to the two chief passions which lead to it, namely, avarice and ambition. When I say ambition, I mean the love of power; for a passion for glory, the only one becoming a Prince, has nothing in common with Despotism.

2d, That a King cannot be a Despot unless he unites the

violent passions which produce Despotism, with the energy and intrepidity necessary to put them in action; while, on the contrary, in those Governments in which power is exerted by many, Despotism arises from this union of the passions of some with the energy of others. Accordingly we find in almost every Aristocratic Government a perpetual bias to augment its power; because the share which falls to each individual, must be in proportion to the power of the whole. They, therefore, employ the authority which they have by Law, in arrogating to themselves what does not legally belong to them, and then use the Legislative Power, by making new Laws to sanction their usurpations.

It may happen, however, that a weak Prince may have a very despotic Minister; our own history furnishes a striking example of this; but, for one man of the energy of Cardinal Richelieu, how many instances have we in France of weak Kings choosing for their Ministers, men who are as weak and as incapable of governing as themselves. In this consists the greatest danger of all Monarchical Governments. If the Chancellor Maupeou had remained in place, it is more than probable that the Revolution would not have happened, because neither M. Maurepas nor M. Necker would have been called to the Ministry.

I believe I have sufficiently demonstrated that acts of Despotism must ever be more frequent under the Government of many, than under that of one person; and, consequently, that Despotism can be more easily introduced under the first than under the second. It also supports itself more permanently in the former, because the energy, the passions, and vices which produce Despotism, are so rarely united in the same person, that it seldom happens that one Prince of a despotic character is immediately succeeded by another of the same disposition; whereas, this union exists so strongly in a

numerous body of men, that, when once possessed of Despotism, they maintain it for a course of years.

In Venice, for example, Despotism has existed for ages; whereas, in Constantinople, many sultans may be quoted, whose reigns have not been sullied by a single act of Despotism.

The French Republic has but too well shown, by its Revolutionary Tribunals, by its requisitions, by the Law of the *Maximum*, &c., &c., that under the Government of many, Despotism is more oppressive than under the Government of one.

I have also asserted, "that it was more difficult to introduce Despotism into the ancient Constitution of France than perhaps into any other; and that which afforded the most effectual means of repressing any attempt to that purpose;" and I shall neither be surprised nor offended, if the proofs with which I support my opinion, expose me to the reproach of giving it with too much modesty.

Let us first establish by general principles, and by indisputed facts, what was the nature of the ancient French Government, and what were the general Laws which collectively formed its Constitution.

"A Monarchy," says Montesquieu, "is a Government where one rules by fixed and established laws." *Spirit of Laws*, book ii. chap i.

"Intermediate, subordinate, and dependent Powers constitute the nature of a Monarchical Government; the most natural, intermediate, subordinate power is that of the Nobility; it in some measure belongs to the very essence of Monarchy. Intermediate ranks are not alone sufficient in Monarchy: it is also necessary, that there should be a separate political body of men intrusted with the preservation of the Laws, and authorised to prevent their being forgotten or violated." *Ibid.*

It is evidently the French Monarchy which Montesquieu meant to define in this passage, as there is no other in which the various characteristics, which (according to this wise author) constitute a Monarchical Government, are so completely combined. In effect, the intermediate and subordinate Powers it requires, exist, first, in the States-General, the Nobles among which formed one of the three orders; secondly, in the particular States of some Provinces; thirdly, in the Parlements, which were also intrusted with the Laws, with their promulgation, and with the duty of maintaining them when they were infringed.

It is true, that the States-General had not been assembled since the year 1614. The President Henault, who is much too laconic upon so essential a point of our history, merely observes, "that the particular assembly of the States-General of that year, was the last, because it was found that those Assemblies were useless." He might, and he ought to have supported that opinion by arguments, in explaining by what means the Parlements, ever since the meeting of the States-General held at Blois in the year 1588, had been considered, if not as the representatives of the Nation, at least as its most faithful and permanent organs, and supplying advantageously by their *Remonstrances*, the petitions (*doleances*) of the States-General. It was in this point of view, that the order of the *Tiers* at Blois, declared formally in their *Cahier*, that the Parlements were the States-General in miniature.

This declaration, which was not then contradicted by either of the two other Orders, has been, in some degree, sanctioned since, both by the acquiescence of the King, and the consent of the Nation; a tacit consent, it must be acknowledged, but indisputably a real one, since the Nation, assembled by bailiwicks at the Convocation of the States in 1614, did not commission its deputies to protest against it.

The right delegated, or at least tacitly yielded to the Parlements, of enlightening the King by their remonstrances, was in no way prejudicial to the right which the Nation had of assembling; and, accordingly, the States-General were convoked immediately on the Nation's expressing that desire by the voice of the Parlements, who, at the same time, relinquished the powers with which they had formerly been invested.

This step, which was accompanied with the inconsiderate declaration, that they had usurped these powers, revived the order of things which existed before the States of Blois; that is to say, that we can no longer regard the convocation of the States as useless; but, on the contrary, it ought immediately to follow the restoration of order and tranquillity in the Kingdom, to afford the King an opportunity of concerting with the States-General, some method of avoiding the inconveniences and dangers of assembling them too often, and in order to re-establish, on a firm basis, all the Laws which protect liberty, and secure persons and property, precious and salutary Laws, sufficient to prevent the abuses of Power and the horrors of Anarchy.

Thus, the intermediate and subordinate powers which (according to Montesquieu's definition) constitute a Monarchical Government, have always existed in France, either in the States-General, in the Provincial States, or in the Parlements.

This last, as I have already observed, was also entrusted with maintaining the established Laws by which the state is governed, the sum total of which forms the Constitution; for this is another essential characteristic of a Monarchical Government. The established Laws are alone obligatory, equally binding to the Monarch and the subject, while the Despot acknowledges no law but his will, and frequently punishes the crime of not guessing it, with as much severity as that of in-

fringing it when known. This is what Blackstone denominates making Laws *ex post facto*.

We must be careful not to confound this arbitrary and inordinate exercise of Supreme Power, which is the peculiar attribute of Despotism, with the necessary power which Governments of every country possess, that of making new Laws and abrogating the old. This faculty, whether exercised by many, or placed in the hands of one person, may produce errors and oppressive Laws, but not Despotism, which always consists in the arbitrary violation of existing Laws; and, therefore, can have nothing in common with the faculty of making new Laws. Here the two strongest objections, or at least the two most specious which have been made against our ancient Government, occur.

“There are not,” it has been said, “any fixed Laws in a State when it depends on the will of the King to annul them, and to substitute others; but the King always possessed that right in France, and exerted it; it therefore follows, that there were no fixed laws in France; and consequently its Government was not Monarchical, since, according to the definition of Montesquieu, a Monarchical Government is that in which one person governs by fixed laws.”

“What signifies subordinate and dependent Powers? Of what avail are these in France against the will of the King?”

It is to be wished, that Montesquieu had been less laconic, in a definition so important, and that he had, at least, explained what he meant by fixed laws: he could not, certainly, mean Laws which could never be changed; for, in that case, his definition of a Monarchical Government would be a gross error. In effect, the worst and most absurd of all Governments would be, undoubtedly, that in which the Laws had remained unchangeable from its origin, the constant duty of legislative power being to pursue by new Laws, and even

accelerate the progress of civilization, useful knowledge, industry, commerce, &c., &c. The manners of one age differ from those of another: new abuses call for new means of repressing them, as new diseases call for new remedies. The legislator ought to study these variations until he becomes master of them, so as to direct them for the public good.

These incontestable truths show the absurdity of the system of fixed Laws taken in the sense which is given to Montesquieu, by those who employ his definition of a Monarchical Government, in order to prove that France was not a Monarchy.

There are, indeed, unalterable Laws which the perversity of man may violate, but which no power on earth can efface. These immutable precepts, which may be regarded as the fundamental Laws of all Governments, the eternal code of the right of nations, which the Supreme Being has engraven on every heart, forms the basis of what we call the moral or natural Law.

“This Law of nature,” as Blackstone observes, “being coeval with mankind, and dictated by God himself, is of course superior in obligation to any other. It is binding over all the globe, in all countries, and at all times: no human Laws are of any validity, if contrary to this; and such of them as are valid derive all their force, and all their authority, mediately or immediately, from this original.”

But it could not be this sacred Law which Montesquieu had in view, it being equally unalterable in every form of Government. He only adverted to Positive Laws, and nobody knew better than he did, that these ought to be and are in their nature revocable. Therefore, when he says that a Monarchical Government must be ruled by fixed Laws, he can only mean, that these Laws must be endued with all the forms necessary, in order to insure their execution, until it is judged proper to repeal them; and, also, that the obligations they

impose, ought to be explained with such precision, as may prevent the possibility of their suffering any arbitrary extension or restriction. Such was the Monarchical Government as it existed in France, and such is the true sense of Montesquieu's definition.

The second objection is not more difficult to be removed: in effect, it is so much the easier to conceive what is meant by the *dependent Powers* in a Monarchical Government; because that form of Government is, in its nature, essentially and necessarily exclusive of any power whatsoever, equal or superior to that of the King; from the moment that the Monarch ceases to be exclusively invested with the plenitude of Supreme Power, the Government ceases to be Monarchical.

But (it is said) if these intermediate powers are subordinate and dependent, what effect can they have in opposition to the will of the King? None, I admit; and it is fortunate that they have none, as long as he makes an advantageous use of his lawful authority; but they can produce a very powerful effect when he abuses it. In France, for instance, the States-General could refuse their consent to the taxes, which they considered either as useless or too heavy: they could propose new Laws, and demand the reform of abuses. It would be as difficult to cite an example of the refusal of a just and reasonable demand of that kind, as to give an instance of a tax being established, in spite of their withholding their assent. They had not, indeed, been assembled since the year 1614; but the royal authority, far from being strengthened by that circumstance, had been more fettered and restrained by the continual opposition, and the remonstrances of the Parlements. We cannot now doubt, that the French Revolution arose from the circumstance, that the royal authority had no longer sufficient energy to resist these very *dependent and*

subordinate Powers, which have a perpetual tendency to diminish their own dependence and subordination.

If they had taken less advantage of the state of weakness to which they themselves had reduced the Government, even the fatal deficit might have been passed over without any violent effect. We should then have had neither Assemblies of Notables, nor of the States-General, nor a Republic: we should now be in possession of all we have lost. Even on the supposition, therefore, that the French Monarchy were to be re-established, we ought to be much less solicitous to augment the strength of these intermediate Powers, than to put it under proper regulation, and with wisdom and caution to ascertain its limits, so that they might assist the King without opposing his legal authority. When these powers are so constituted, they bestow on Monarchical Government an inestimable advantage of which no other is susceptible, that of erecting a powerful barrier against oppressive Laws and abuses of authority of whatever kind. On this account I have already observed, that Despotism and tyranny are with more difficulty introduced under the Government of one person than under that of many; and, in reality, we find, in Aristocratic Governments, that the most tyrannical and arbitrary acts being clothed with the legislative character, by the very power from which they flow, are put into immediate execution, without the possibility of using any legal means to procure their repeal, or even their modification. The people have then no choice left betwixt passive obedience and insurrection; and that last resource of despair or of crime often produces a thousand times more evil than it can repair.

Even in England—in that high-spirited nation, which is so enthusiastically attached to its Constitution, which it regards as the most popular and free in existence, the people, if

loaded with oppressive taxes, have no other means of expressing their discontent but by petitions (always ineffectual against a bill once passed), by fruitless declarations of pamphleteers, and, finally, by insurrection.

It is true that that extreme resource is there attended with less danger than elsewhere, either because the Minister necessarily having the majority of the Parlement in his favour, his party must always be the strongest, or because the greater part of the nation, being convinced that by their representatives they exercise a portion of the Supreme Power, do not choose to revolt against their own authority, or to destroy that which they consider as their own work. But although there does not exist in England, an intermediate power betwixt the people and the supreme authority exerted by the Parlement, composed of King, Lords, and Commons, this Government has other very valuable advantages; namely, that of losing nothing of its original vigour under the weakest Prince, and in having nothing to fear from the incapacity of Ministers. During the reign of the weakest, as in that of the most able Monarch, the reins of government constantly remain in the hands of the Chancellor of the Exchequer,¹ who is always a man of the first abilities in the Kingdom, and who, having the nomination of the other Ministers, never fails to appoint such persons as he thinks most capable of supporting his measures. Unfortunately it was not so in France. Intrigue and favour had the greatest influence, not only in the nomination to employments, but even in the choice of Min-

¹ It is hardly necessary to say that Bertrand is mistaken in saying that the Chancellor of the Exchequer is the ex-officio head of the British Government. He is, no doubt, thinking of the First Lordship of the Treasury, which is the customary office held by the Prime Minister, though there is no reason why the Prime Minister should not hold any other office, such as the Secretaryship of Foreign Affairs — which has, more than once, been the Department combined with the post of Prime Minister.

isters, because the King had no means of weighing the merit of those who were presented to him. From thence proceed that rapid and destructive succession of bad Ministers which occasioned the dissolution of the Government. This was one of the most considerable and pernicious abuses which, through the weakness of Government, had crept into our ancient Monarchy; and the present Revolution is the fatal consequence.

It would be easy to prove, that it broke out exactly at a period when almost all the important offices of state were filled by men of incapacity. But this abuse was by no means inherent in our ancient Constitution; it was, on the contrary, so foreign to it, that until the end of the fifteenth century the appointment to the important place of Chancellor of France was made by the King, from a list of three persons elected by delegates from all the sovereign Courts of the Kingdom, chosen for that purpose; and in each of these Courts the appointment of President was made by the King, from a list of three persons chosen by the members of those Courts. It would have been easy, not only to re-establish this form, but infinitely to improve it, by extending it to all offices; dividing them into various classes, and establishing among them necessary gradations. This, if wisely conducted, would have presented to men of merit a fair prospect of gradually attaining the most eminent situations, without any other protection or recommendation but those of talents and of virtue. I know very well that intrigue and cabal have often had too much influence in the ancient manner of election to offices: but this inconvenience would no longer be to be dreaded, if Ministers were subjected to a rigorous responsibility, and if all electors who made an indifferent choice should be deprived of the privilege of electing for a certain time; and all who made a bad choice should be deprived of their vote forever.

I only *mention* this idea of M. Malesherbes; the complete illustration of it requires a detail too extensive to have a place in this work. I reserve that talk for some future period, when it may be fulfilled to the advantage of my country.

If the Law which should establish this important improvement were, at the requisition of the States-General, declared to be irrevocable, and if our Kings were obliged to take a solemn oath, at their Coronation, never to infringe it, the administration would always be composed of the ablest men of the nation, and all public employments would be filled by men of talents and integrity. By this means we should acquire the principal advantages of the English Constitution, with this essential difference, that in England this advantage only exists with regard to the nomination of the Prime Minister; whereas in France it would extend to all public offices, without exception. One necessary consequence of this law would be to overturn the chief abuses which time introduced into our ancient Government, under which we lived for so many ages; and which, in spite of the vices imputed to it, must have been well suited to the character and genius of the French Nation, since it subsisted for such a length of time. It is, however, with this same Government that some orators, equally ambitious and imprudent, have endeavoured to disgust us, in order that we might adopt the English Constitution, or a Government with permanent Assemblies; because this form offered to their selfish vanity and ambition, situations to which their talent for speaking might raise them.

Whatever are the advantages of the British Constitution, it must be confessed that it has only subsisted, such as it is at present, one hundred and eight years; therefore it is not absolutely demonstrated that there are not seeds of destruction contained in the very nature of it. I am willing, however, to believe, that this Constitution will stand its ground unshaken

for ages; and I am convinced, that no form of Government could be more suitable to the genius of the English Nation: but I am also convinced, that there is none less conformable to that of the French; unless it could be proved that the climates of England and France are the same, and that there is no difference in the manners, characters, and tempers of these two Nations; for it has been universally acknowledged, and common sense indicates, that the Laws of a country cannot be good, unless they are adapted to the peculiarities above enumerated. If the English Constitution ever comes to be adopted in France, the consequences are not difficult to be foreseen.

The French have too much vivacity and petulance to be capable of carrying on a cold, methodical discussion upon any subject whatever. Ten or twelve, even of the wisest and most judicious, cannot continue a conversation, on any interesting subject, for a quarter of an hour, without a degree of heat, which assumes the appearance, and sometimes the nature, of a quarrel; all of them speaking at once, and all being more capable, and much more inclined, to speak than to listen: but instead of ten or twelve speakers, if there are a greater number, the dispute will be proportionately more loud and violent. It must be still far worse in a House of Commons, or in a National Assembly, composed of deputies from the whole Kingdom; because in all popular meetings, those who speak most or best are always certain of having most votes: so that the Parlement of France would be composed of the greatest talkers in the Nation, and would necessarily be extremely tumultuous; for there never existed a numerous Assembly in France which was not tumultuous.

It is impossible to expect wise Laws from the deliberations of such a Parlement, because the genius requisite to conceive them, the reflexion to combine them, are incompatible with

precipitation and passion. The country, of course, would be involved in some new and sudden calamity. But on the supposition that such a Parlement could be kept in order by the means of influence and corruption, the enormous additional expense which would be the consequence of that system, would require such an additional taxation as would be most oppressive to a nation like France, which has not the prodigious resources that England derives from her commerce; therefore these taxes would unavoidably be raised upon land, and upon the immediate necessities of life; for after the devastation and ruin of the Revolution, it will be long before much can be produced by taxes on luxury. It must also be considered, that France, from its situation, being forced, in times of peace, to keep up a standing army, eight times more numerous than that of England, requires larger funds, not only for the regular expenses of this army, but also to allow for peculation; an abuse which will undoubtedly be tolerated, because military employments being the principal means of influence possessed by Government, it could not restrain the profits annexed to them, without diminishing that influence.

If these considerations have not sufficient weight to make the enthusiasts of the British Constitution renounce their desire of attempting its establishment in France, it would be easy to demonstrate, that she never will be in a situation to defray the expenses of such an experiment. Let us suppose, contrary to all probability, that the English form of Government should, upon its introduction into France, immediately acquire the same degree of vigour and stability which it only attained in England by the improvements which experience suggested; even in that case the annual expense of administration, at the same rate which it costs in England, with more than double the extent of territory and population, and an army eight times more numerous, would amount to above forty

millions sterling; that is, more than double the annual expense of Government before the Revolution; and it is but too evident, that France is not in a situation to support such an expense. All idea of ever establishing the British Constitution in that country must therefore be renounced.

The expenses of a republican form of Government being more considerable than those of a monarchical, France is less able to support them. It has not hitherto, and never will be able, but by ruining all the monied men by continual bankruptcies, and all the landed men by enormous taxation.

What government, then, is best fitted for France? There is only one — that under which it flourished during the course of so many ages; that which its present calamities perpetually recall to our saddened remembrance; and to which the irresistible force of time and events must bring us back, sooner or later. May the Prince who is called upon to revive this ancient Constitution secure its stability by a solemn and irrevocable Law, which may forever prevent its being exposed to the danger which incessantly threatens all Monarchies; namely, that of perishing under a weak administration! That salutary Law, of which the Revolution pointed out the necessity, and which will become the *palladium* of every Monarchical State wherein it shall be adopted, will consist, principally, in admitting to all offices of administration none but men who are generally acknowledged to be capable of fulfilling them, by having displayed talents and merit in inferior situations. This Law, by obliging Ministers to a rigorous responsibility, would effectually prevent the abuses of the old government. France would then be truly regenerated, and might hope, in some degree, to repair her disasters, and to see peaceful and happy days under a King, whose power to do good would be unlimited, and who would be deprived of the means of doing ill; for there is no degree of prosperity which may not be pro-

moted by a King, seconded by able and well-inclined Ministers; and what evil has he in his power, with Ministers who are inevitably responsible for whatever evil the King shall do? Their wisdom, discernment, and firmness would preclude the effects of the weakness and even the vices of the Monarch; by their dextrous management, the violence of his character would, in the eyes of the people, appear energy; his weakness, moderation; his avarice, economy; and his profusion, liberality.

Under so happy a Government, the love of our King and of our Country, sentiments which, when they were linked together, were strongly felt by Frenchmen, but which are now annihilated in consequence of being disjoined, would revive in every breast, and all the seeds of sedition and revolution would be blasted forever.

THE END.

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